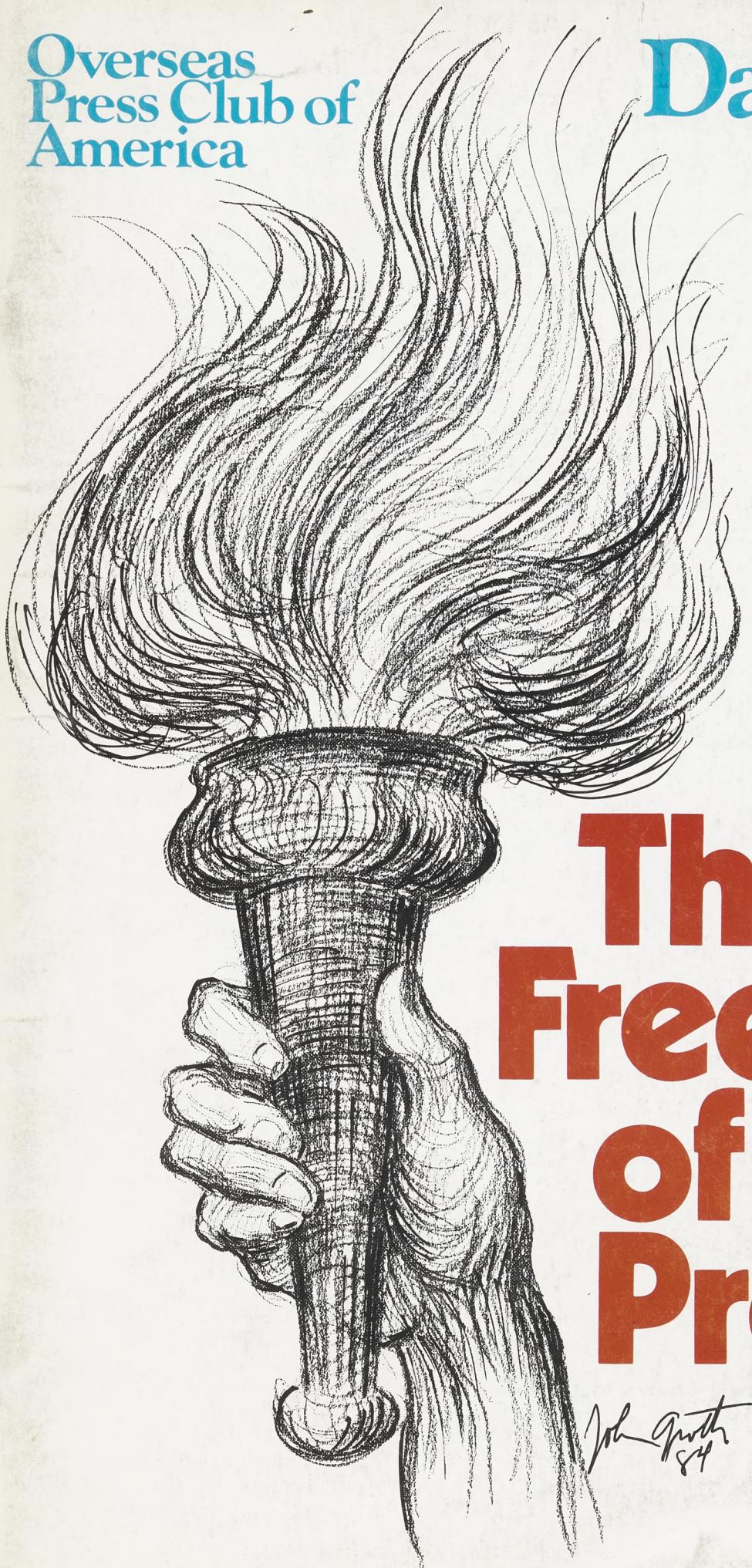


Overseas
Press Club of
America

Dateline'84



The Freedom of The Press

John Gutfreund
84

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From OPC's President

This, the 45th anniversary of the Overseas Press Club, begins a new and promising year for us. I think our founding fathers (and mothers) who sat together one April Sunday in 1939, and decided to establish a press club—and call it the OPC—would indeed be pleased to find that their plan was a successful one, and that their baby has managed to live and grow during the years. In fact, today we count over 1500 members scattered all over the world, half of whom are active, working journalists.

Our aim is to express our viewpoint and influence, to assure freedom of the press everywhere, and this issue of *DATELINE* is dedicated to this endeavor. At no time have there been as many important violations of press freedom as there are today. In fact, the International Press Institute, found that "only a small part of the globe can boast that free speech is respected and honored," and that "The role of the journalist has never been harder than it is today."

Our Freedom of the Press Committee has been exceedingly active this year and in many cases successful in influencing the release of journalists who have been held or incarcerated in different areas of the world. We protested numerous cases during 1983.

This year has also seen many changes in the way in which the media has been perceived by the public, with a growing mistrust and suspicion. In addition, the barring of the press at the invasion of Grenada set another precedent which confronted our journalists, and concerned members of the media as to whether it is possible that there would be other curbs affecting them. Our program committee, with this in mind, gave our members an opportunity to hear first-hand from reporters returning from their posts abroad, about the problems facing journalists around the world.

We have attempted to enlighten and entertain our members through our programs, and we offer the only press club in midtown New York where communicators can find conviviality, as well as a place to meet, eat, drink and find accommodations.

We have been very fortunate this past year, to witness an increase in the professionalism of our membership, for many of the leading women and men in the field of communications have joined the OPC. It is my hope that with the increasingly important part we are playing in presenting a forum for discussion

of the role of the press in the world today, that many more journalists will recognize the value of belonging to the OPC and join us in giving recognition to the outstanding work that is being done by so many reporters.

I am grateful for the support I have received from the membership, and it is my intention to affirm the viability of the OPC and to make certain that we will continue to be an active voice, wherever we can express our concern about free press violations and restrictions to which journalists are subjected throughout the world.



Rita DiCarlo

A REPORT FROM THE WALL STREET JOURNAL.

The following is an excerpt from a letter to Wall Street Journal readers from the Publisher which appeared in The Journal on January 9, 1984:

THE ROLE OF THE FREE PRESS.

The issue of trust in the press in general is being hotly debated these days. The issue was brought into sharp focus by the justification given by Secretary of State Schultz and others for the exclusion of the press from coverage of the Grenada invasion, a decision that won wide public support. The Secretary contended that the difference between Grenada and earlier wars, when reporters regularly accompanied U.S. troops, was that then the press was "on our side."

This newspaper supported the Grenada invasion. It does not support the notion that either patriotism or access to information on government activities should be conditional on unquestioning support of government policy or some bureaucratic determination of which American citizens are "on our side."

A free and unfettered press is not a perfect press. As Winston Churchill said of all democratic institutions, they produce "the worst form of government except all those other forms that have been tried from time to time."

The debates over the press often lose sight of two basic truths. One is that the issue is not the press' rights, but the public's rights to information; the founding fathers provided for a free press because they thought the governed needed a surrogate to help them watch over their governors.

The second often-overlooked truth is that Jefferson and his colleagues, seeing the low-quality press and propaganda sheets of their day, never assumed the press would always perform well, would always know the truth and tell the truth. Their concept, vali-

dated over the years since then, was that through diversity, out of the vast welter of conflicting ideas that would be put before the public, the truth would emerge. And that it would emerge more effectively than through any efforts to impose standards of truth from the outside or through any other means yet devised.

The Wall Street Journal will continue the pursuit of truth, always conscious of our readers' need for accurate information in making important business and political decisions. The Journal editorial pages will continue to make judgments and speak out forcefully on the important issues of the day. The Journal also will continue to open these pages to dissenting points of view. And it will welcome competing ideas and appraisals of events by other publications. Our readers and the general public are smart enough to form their own judgments, and to want to assess many viewpoints first, not just one.

The Journal's audience is a particularly demanding one. Numerous reader surveys have shown it to be extraordinarily well educated, thoughtful and successful. We are determined to serve your needs for information with increasing effectiveness in the year ahead and to continue to merit your trust.

Cordially,



Warren H. Phillips
Chairman and Chief Executive,
Dow Jones & Co.
Publisher, The Wall Street Journal

Dateline'84

A publication of the Overseas Press Club of America

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1984, Vol. XXVIII

Published by the Overseas Press Club of America, Inc. 52 East 41st Street, New York, N.Y. 10017

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Publisher: Henry Gellermann

Editor: Murray Schumach

Art director: Pierre Cooley

Awards editor: George Burns

Advertising director: Leonard Silverman

Printed by Pennyfeather Press,
New York City

Cover illustration by
John Groth

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Thomas L. Friedman and Nan Robertson of The New York Times win Pulitzer Prizes for 1983



1918 The New York Times, "for the most disinterested and meritorious public service rendered by an American newspaper"—complete and accurate coverage of the news of the war.

1923 Alva Johnston, for distinguished reporting of scientific news.

1926 Edward M. Kingsbury, for the most distinguished editorial of the year, on the Hundred Neediest Cases.

1930 Russell Owen, for graphic news dispatches from the Byrd Antarctic Expedition.

1932 Walter Duranty, for dispassionate interpretative reporting of the news from Russia.

1934 Frederick T. Birschall, for unbiased reporting of the news from Germany.

1935 Arthur Krock, for distinguished correspondence, impartial and analytical Washington coverage.

1936 Lauren D. Lyman, for distinguished reporting: a world beat on the departure of the Lindberghs for England.

1937 Anne O'Hare McCormick, for distinguished foreign correspondence: dispatches and special articles from Europe.

1937 William L. Laurence, for distinguished reporting of the Tercentenary Celebration at Harvard, shared with four other reporters.

1938 Arthur Krock, for distinguished Washington correspondence.

1940 Otto D. Tolischus, for articles from Berlin explaining the economic and ideological background of war-engaged Germany.

1941 The New York Times, special citation "for the public education value of its foreign news reports, exemplified by its scope, by its excellence of writing, presentation and supplementary background information, illustration and interpretation."

1942 Louis Stark, for distinguished reporting of important labor stories.

1943 Hanson W. Baldwin, for a series of articles reporting a tour of the Pacific battle areas.

1944 The New York Times, "for the most disinterested and meritorious service rendered by an American newspaper"—a survey of the teaching of American history.

1945 James B. Reston, for news dispatches and interpretive articles on the Dumbarton Oaks Security Conference.

1946 Arnaldo Cortesi, for distinguished correspondence from Buenos Aires.

1946 William L. Laurence, for his eyewitness account of the atomic bombing of Nagasaki and articles on the atomic bomb.

1947 Brooks Atkinson, for a distinguished series of articles on Russia.

1949 C. P. Trussell, for "consistent excellence in covering the national scene from Washington."

1950 Meyer Berger, for "a distinguished example of local reporting"—an article on the killing of 13 people by a berserk gunman.

1951 Arthur Krock, a special commendation for his exclusive interview with President Truman as "the outstanding instance of national reporting in 1950."

1951 Cyrus L. Sulzberger, special citation for exclusive interview with Archbishop Stepinac of Yugoslavia.

1952 Anthony H. Leviero, for distinguished reporting on national affairs.

1953 The New York Times, special citation for its Sunday Review of the Week Section, which "for 17 years has brought enlightenment and intelligent commentary to its readers."

1955 Harrison E. Salisbury, for a series of articles based on his six years in Russia.

1955 Arthur Krock, a special citation for distinguished correspondence from Washington.

1956 Arthur Daley, for his sports column, "Sports of The Times."

1957 James B. Reston, for distinguished reporting from Washington.

1958 The New York Times, for its distinguished coverage of foreign news.

1960 A. M. Rosenthal, for perceptive and authoritative reporting from Poland.

1963 Anthony Lewis, for his distinguished reporting of the proceedings of the United States Supreme Court.

1964 David Halberstam, for his distinguished reporting from South Vietnam.

1968 J. Anthony Lukas, for "a distinguished example of local reporting"—an article on a murdered 18-year-old girl and the two different lives she led.

1970 Ada Louise Huxtable, architecture critic, for distinguished criticism.

1971 Harold C. Schonberg, music critic, for distinguished criticism.

1972 The New York Times, "for a distinguished example of meritorious public service by a newspaper through the use of its journalistic resources"—publication of the *Pentagon Papers*.

1973 Max Frankel, for his coverage of President Nixon's visit to China, a distinguished example of reporting on international affairs.

1974 Hedrick Smith, for his coverage of the Soviet Union in 1973, a distinguished example of reporting of foreign affairs.

1976 Sydney H. Schanberg, for his coverage of the fall of Cambodia, a distinguished example of reporting on foreign affairs.

1976 Walter W. ("Red") Smith, for his Sports of The Times column, an example of distinguished criticism.

1978 Henry Kamm, chief Asian diplomatic correspondent, for calling attention to the plight of Indochinese refugees, an outstanding example of reporting on foreign affairs.

1978 Walter Kerr, Sunday drama critic, for an outstanding example of distinguished criticism.

1978 William Safire, Op-Ed Page columnist, for his columns on the Bert Lance affair, an example of distinguished commentary.

1979 Russell Baker, for his "Observer" column, an example of distinguished commentary.

1981 Dave Anderson, for his Sports of The Times column. An example of distinguished commentary.

1981 John M. Crewdson, for his coverage of illegal aliens and immigration. A distinguished example of reporting on national affairs.

1982 John Darnton, bureau chief, Warsaw, for his coverage of the crisis in Poland. A distinguished example of international reporting.

1982 Jack Rosenthal, deputy editorial page editor. A distinguished example of editorial page writing.

1983 Thomas L. Friedman, for his coverage of the war in Lebanon. A distinguished example of international reporting.

1983 Nan Robertson, for her article in The New York Times Magazine on her experience with toxic shock syndrome. A distinguished example of feature writing.

The New York Times and members of its staff have won 52 Pulitzer Awards. More than any other newspaper.

First Amendment

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free use thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

Fourteenth Amendment Section I.

All persons born or naturalized in the United States and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

On obscenity, Federal Judge Learned Hand, in 1913, stated what was to become the position of the nation's courts twenty years later.

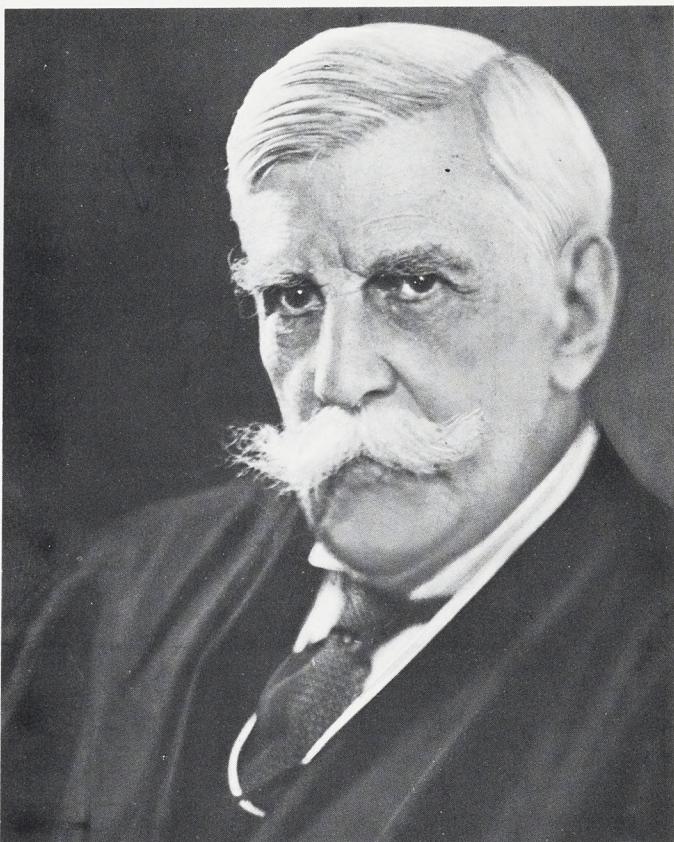
"I question whether in the end men will regard that as obscene which is honestly relevant to the adequate expression of innocent ideas, and whether they will not believe that truth and beauty are too precious to society at large to be mutilated in the interests of those most likely to pervert them to base uses. Indeed, it seems hardly likely that we are even today so lukewarm in our interest in letters or serious discussion as to be content to reduce our treatment of sex to the standard of a child's library in the supposed interest of a salacious few or that shame will long prevent us from adequate portrayal of some of the most serious and beautiful sides of human nature."

During World War I, Supreme Court Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, in defending the right to distribute anti-draft leaflets, while condemning the right to yell "Fire!" in a crowded theater, said:

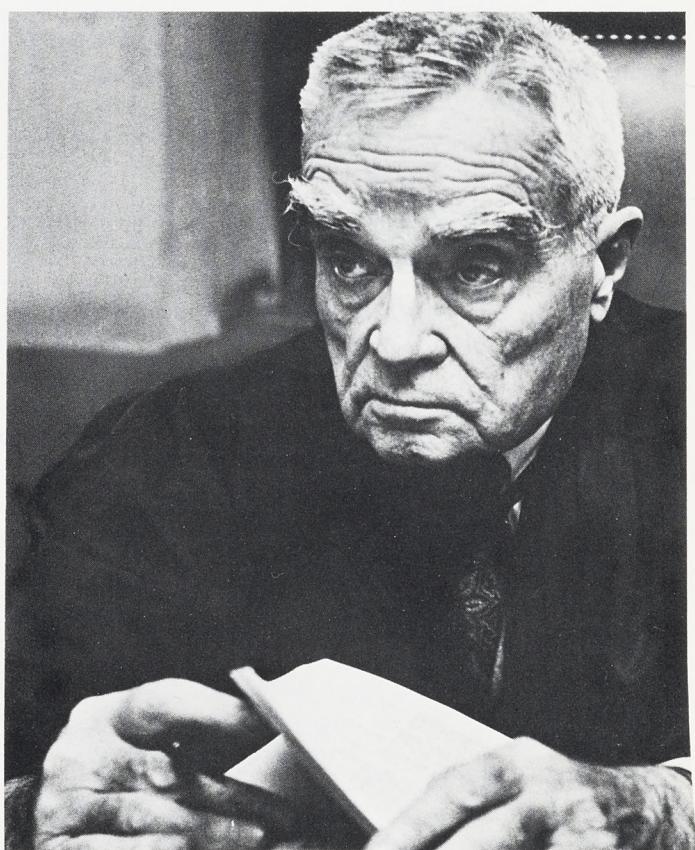
"The question in every case is whether the words used are of such a nature as to create a clear and present danger that they will bring about the substantive evils that Congress has a right to prevent."

In 1933, Federal Judge John M. Woolsey, in lifting the customs ban against James Joyce's "Ulysses," said:

"Reading 'Ulysses' in its entirety, as a book must be read on such a test as this, did not tend to excite sexual impulses or lustful thoughts but that its net effect on them was only that of a somewhat tragic and very powerful commentary on the inner lives of men and women... It is only with the normal person that the law is concerned."



Supreme Court Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes.



Federal Judge Learned Hand.

The Freedom of The Press

Contributors

Charles E. Adelsen	Foreign Correspondent
James L. Buckley	President, Radio Free Europe
John Chancellor	Network Correspondent, NBC News
Ed Cony	Vice President/News The Wall Street Journal
Bernard Diederich	Latin-American Correspondent, Time
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Peter Galliner	Director, International Press Institute
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Edward M. Joyce	President, CBS News
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David Shaw	The Los Angeles Times
Frank Sinatra vs Kitty Kelley	Star against writer
Victims of Press Persecution	International List
George Weller	Foreign Correspondent

Self-restraint: an alternative to anarchy

by Charles E. Adelsen
Foreign Correspondent

Istanbul—Political dictatorship is the most widely feared consequence of curtailed freedom of the press. But in America and elsewhere in the technologically advantaged Western world, millions for decades now have submitted with little complaint to the precursor of inevitable totalitarian thought control, a strident mercantilism whose access to the mass mind is most direct through the printed page, the overcrowded airwaves and, most persuasively and powerfully, that hyperkinetic sensual assault mechanism and manipulator of the ability to choose or reject, television.

When the Founding Fathers of the United States, unhappy in the fetters of what was in fact a quite bland despotism, made freedom of expression, and thus freedom of the press, a pillar of their remarkably durable Constitution, excess was anathema in an age of dawning political and social enlightenment. Two centuries later, ours is a time of institutionalized excess, when hyperbole—unrestrained “for freedom’s sake”—is a virtue, the normal idiom of the marketplace and ever more that of the elaborately safeguarded media.

While from the pulpit of the free press we pay pious lip service, and sometimes sincere homage, to the principles of equalitarian competition, still we eagerly acquiesce to the sound of the loudest voice, to the scientifically orchestrated hoodwinkery of a corporate hucksterism dedicated to the proposition that all products—and by subtle implication all men—are not created equal. The world divided into status segments of absolute *herrenfolk* and *untermenschen* qualities. Candy bars now, candidates tomorrow.

Senses already numbed and made malleable by the fortissimo repetitions of commercial mind-washing, are just as easily captivated by the grand strategies of political ideology using identical tactics of persuasion. Too smugly we assume that a free press will exercise self-restraint, that will be spared the consequences of newspapers, television and radio motivated by a single mentality obsessed with a single purpose.

But we do not have to look far to see the increasing failure of voluntary self-

restraint to protect the community from the evils of extremism. While intellectually superior magazines and newspapers falter and die, whole bazaars of pornographic “literature” flourish in the main streets of our cities. In the waiting room adjacent to the emergency section of New York’s Bellevue Hospital, the sick or injured poor are captive audiences to televised scenes of mayhem and rape while they wait—and wait—in their anguish and their agony. In Hoboken a little child sits through his breakfast hour mesmerized by a tiny-tot world of entertainment prowled by sadistic anthropomorphic nursery animals and Nietzschean supermen and women whose only mortality is brute force. In this Orwellian year, what we have feared is already among us but in an insidious and sophisticated shape we had never imagined. Already we are victims of a peculiar and ultimately pernicious “tyranny of freedom” of our own making.

What happens when the constitutionally free press totally abandons self-restraint? Recently, in Istanbul, as an invited “observer,” one of only

two members of the independent American press in the hall, this writer attended a UNESCO sponsored symposium on the effects of media technology on national cultures. I listened while an unrepentant junior editor of a powerful rightest daily boasted how, given a choice between unbridled journalistic sensationalism and state censorship, he would always opt for sensationalism. His stance was chilling. Only three years before, his paper and others like it had stoked the fires of communal violence with their ferocious editorials and lurid reporting.

One’s mind rushed back to a nightmare time when the least one had to fear during a ferry ride up the Bosphorus was some barely pubescent neo-Brown Shirt or self-named Trotskyite snatching the “wrong newspaper” from the hands of terrified commuters. Only the fire-brigade action of the military then, had put out the conflagration. Still this editor was willing to turn back the clock in the name of *laissez faire* journalism.

Unlike virginity among very young maidens, total freedom of the press is not universally praiseworthy at all times and in all places, sad as that may seem when pondered from the editorial rooms of the *Times* of London or its namesake off Times Square. Without self-restraint the free press is free no longer, but only an adjunct to anarchy, the utopia of the mindless and the enemy of all societies everywhere.

Soviet censorship of Olympics?

by James L. Buckley
President Radio Free Europe/
Radio Liberty

Press credentials for the Olympics at Sarajevo were denied this year to Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty by the executive committee of the International Olympic Committee.

The following response was made by former United States Senator James L. Buckley, who is president of Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, Inc.

This action is objectionable for a number of reasons: it is discriminatory; it violates the IOC’s own charter and principles; but most importantly, it represents abject capitulation to Soviet pressures...

We at Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty can testify that the IOC executive committee’s action represents a collapse of political spine, because the Soviet bloc campaign to attack the radios through the Olympic Committee goes back more than a dozen years when they threatened a boycott of the Munich games if Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty were allowed to cover them. Fortunately the IOC paid no attention at that time.

As you will see from the brief history of the post-1972 problems we have had with the Olympics over the last eight years the Soviet Union has been trying to persuade the Olympic movement to accept its concept of freedom of information—namely, the freedom of

every country to control the information which reaches its own people.

If you examine what happened to RFE/RL this year you will see a pattern of harassment and discrimination whose only underlying logic is political.

The Olympic charter says the IOC "shall secure the widest possible audience for the Olympic games." The IOC refuses to accredit RFE/RL, however, supposedly because it does not broadcast to the country in which it is headquartered, even though it reaches more than 50 million listeners a week in half a dozen other countries.

In a telex to me dated November 24, The IOC said that RFE/RL does not qualify for accreditation because it "does not respect the notion of territory as defined in the Olympic charter under Rule 24." But Rule 24 doesn't say anything at all about radio broadcasting or press accreditation.

The IOC maintains that, in RFE/RL's case, external broadcasting organizations cannot be accredited. But it has not rejected the accreditation of any other external broadcaster.

In the course of discussions with the U.S. Olympic Committee, the IOC offered two compromises. One was that RFE/RL reporters would cover the games if they didn't identify themselves as RFE/RL reporters. Another was that RFE/RL reporters could be accredited only if they were U.S. citizens. Both of these suggestions are inconsistent with the Olympic rules, and no other news organization at Sarajevo was subjected to such restrictions.

What happened was that RFE/RL applied for 11 accreditations and these were endorsed by the U.S. Olympic Committee. Under the existing rules, the rest should have been automatic.

But the IOC first refused to honor them (the external broadcasters argument), then agreed to honor them on a condition (namely the clandestine reporter approach), then agreed to accept all of them, then said it would accredit only five (based on passports) and then finally voted not to accredit RFE/RL at all.

We could have accepted the secret identity proposal. But our journalists are serious, honest professionals. We could have accepted the five—although the nationality test would have cost us all staff coverage in three major languages as well as the technicians needed to produce all of our programs.

We decided, however, to take a broader view. The argument between RFE/RL and the IOC is not over numbers. It is over discrimination and over



Yugoslav Militiaman guards the Zeta Stadium where hockey and ice skating events were held at the Winter Olympics in Sarajevo, Yugoslavia.

the extent to which the IOC has allowed itself to be used for political purposes.

RFE and RL, of course, are political radio stations in the sense that their broadcasts break state-controlled information monopolies and that this is a political purpose. But they are not propaganda operations. Their newscasts are thorough and honest and as objective as we can make them.

We know now what took place in Innsbruck at the winter games in 1976, when 12 RFE/RL reporters had their credentials yanked because of what they were told were technical problems with their applications. We have since learned however that the Soviet and Czechoslovak representatives had presented the IOC with a legal document which purported to prove that RFE/RL violates international law by broadcasting across frontiers. That is why the IOC withdrew our credentials in 1976. RFE/RL was not told at the time what the reasons really were, nor was it given any chance to present its own side.

In 1977, the Soviet Union began its efforts to get the IOC to change its rules so that only broadcast organizations which transmit to their countries would be accredited. Radio Moscow would not be affected, of course, because it broadcasts both internally and externally.

The rule was never adopted, but its spirit has surfaced again in Sarajevo.

Following the Innsbruck incident in '76, RFE/RL took its case to the full IOC during a plenary session in Montreal before the Montreal games. This time RFE/RL was able to present a legal opinion, and the full IOC voted overwhelmingly to accept RFE/RL's accreditations by a vote of 42 to 21.

The decision in Montreal should have settled things once and for all.

Instead, the Olympic charter has been amended to make the IOC executive board and not the full IOC the final arbiter of accreditation disputes. It was the executive board that withdrew our credentials in Innsbruck, and the executive board which acted in Sarajevo.

On two occasions, RFE/RL has given the IOC written assurances that it covers the Olympics as sports events within the framework of its normal sports programming. RFE/RL has twice offered to provide tape recordings in the event of a complaint about some specific Olympics broadcast.

But the fact is that no one has ever objected to the way RFE/RL covered the Olympics. What troubles the Soviet Union and its Eastern European allies is not our sports programming but the very fact of our existence.

It is too late now, of course, to do anything about accreditation in Sarajevo.

The next Olympics, however, will be in Los Angeles. And if this political decision is not overturned, a major American tax-supported news organization will be denied the right to cover a major international sports event taking place on American soil.

Julian Roosevelt, an American member of the IOC executive committee, which voted unanimously to deny press credentials for the Olympics to Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, expressed indifference to former Senator Buckley's comments. Mr. Roosevelt, an investment banker and winner of an Olympic gold medal for yachting in 1952, said:

"I couldn't care less about it. It doesn't bother me. The United States government doesn't tell me what to do, and that's the end of it."

*A free society depends
upon the survival of an
independent, free press.*

EDITOR & PUBLISHER magazine has championed a free press since we began publishing one hundred years ago.

As the basic trade journal for the American newspaper industry, we have adhered to a tradition of high journalistic standards in keeping with democratic principles. We will continue to uphold these ideals that are inherent in the foundations of this nation as we embark upon our second century of weekly newspaper reporting.

Since 1884, **EDITOR & PUBLISHER** . . . a legend and a leader.

Censorship may get tougher

by John Chancellor
Network Correspondent
NBC News

When I was growing up, we read Ernie Pyle.

When I grew up, we read Seymour Hersh.

We went from Pyle's celebration of the GIs in World War Two to Hersh's condemnation of the My Lai massacre in Viet Nam. The passage was from the old world to the new.

What happened?

Well, for one thing, World War Two was something special; a war declared by the Congress of the United States against an enemy which was unmistakably dangerous to our national security. The country hasn't gone into action that way since 1941.

Since then, it's been a series of police actions, peace-keeping missions or interventions at the request (spurious or actual) of another country or countries.

No more formally declared wars with popular support. They've been replaced by military operations which were either unpopular, controversial or both. This has put pressure on the government to make the most persuasive case for the use of troops, and pressure on the press to test that case.

The nature of conflict has changed, and along with it, the role of the press. The bulk of the press was "on the team" in World War Two. It would be on the team tomorrow if Soviet tank armies began sweeping toward the Fulda Gap. But it's been hard to be on the team in Saigon, Beirut or St. George's, Grenada, given Washington's uncertain and often contradictory justifications for those operations. The problem is not only American: ask Israeli reporters about the invasion of Lebanon, or British reporters about the Falkland Islands. It's a serious problem, in a democracy, when the government has to argue that a certain policy is the only policy, while the public and the press know there are alternatives. Being on the government team, looking the other way, not asking the hard questions, ignoring those with opposite views, are ethically unacceptable options for journalists living in this changed world.

Part of the press's problem is that many journalists in this changed world are not like their predecessors. Ernie Pyle would not recognize many of the press people of the 1980s. They are infinitely more skeptical than their World

War Two elders, and for good reason. Viet Nam, the difference between what was said there and what was seen there, is a significant factor. But the official rationales for the 1965 intervention in the Dominican Republic, the invasion of Grenada and the presence of the marines in Lebanon raise new questions about what was said and what was seen.

Those of us in the press old enough to remember Ernie Pyle may question the style of our younger kinfolk, but it is hard to question their motives. The trouble is, the government and military people old enough to remember the old days regard the younger press people as scoundrels and subversives.

If war today isn't what it used to be, neither is the technology of coverage. War once took place somewhere else. Today, this morning's battlefield horror can be this evening's picture on the television screen. Wirephotos arrive faster than ever before. Computers move copy almost instantaneously.

Critics say the reporting from Viet Nam undercut the effort there. Not true. The pictures of dead and dying Americans, in an unexplained conflict, undercut public support.

Many British officials learned that lesson. So when Britain went into the Falklands, the British government undercut the coverage, limited the number of reporters and camera people, and censored the news beyond the requirements of military security.

In my view, it is likely that the world press—and especially the press in the great democracies—is going to be pushed around again, and again.

We are caught between the rock of technological change, caused by our amazing new ability to get the story in quickly, and the hard place of a growing understanding among officials that getting the story in quickly is damaging to a government's health.

Stand by for the squeeze.

Censorship at the door

by Ed Cony
Vice President/News
The Wall Street Journal

"Among other essential rights, the liberty of Conscience and the Press cannot be cancelled, abridged, restrained or modified by any authority in the United States."

These words of George Mason appear in the preamble to the Declaration of Rights of Virginia, adopted in 1776.

Two hundred and eight years later George Mason sounds quaint. Today the desire for national security threatens to overwhelm the American love of liberty. Now censorship beats upon the door of this republic. And the door shows signs of yielding. As an article in The Bulletin of The American Society of Newspaper Editors puts it: "The smell of censorship is in the air." Surely, 1984 belongs more to George Orwell than to George Mason.

Hyperbole perhaps? Perhaps not. Consider two events in recent months: —The President of the United States issues Executive Order #12356 imposing censorship on well over 100,000 U.S. government officials.

The order demands lifetime censorship, in the name of national security. —U.S. Marines and Rangers invade Grenada. The Pentagon declares the scene off limits to the U.S. press for nearly three days. National security again becomes the excuse, even though the U.S. had notified the Cuban government before the first paratrooper landed on Grenada.

We need not despair, of course. We must remind ourselves that both the President's executive order and the Pentagon's private invasion have aroused vigorous opposition.

In the case of Executive Order #12356, Congress has succeeded in holding up its execution. The White House now talks of compromise. Nevertheless the order as issued poses a challenge to free speech—a threat that should alarm every American.

The executive order would require all officials who have access to highly classified information—the number is estimated at about 125,000—to sign an agreement binding them to "pre-publication review"—read it censorship—of anything they write based on their government service, even after they retire.

The order would necessitate a corps of censors to read and clear book manuscripts, magazine articles, newspaper columns, lectures and even open testimony before Congress.

It could create the spectacle of preventing an Alexander Haig or a Zbigniew Brzezinski from criticizing a policy of Secretary of State Shultz without first clearing it with the censors in Mr. Shultz's department. Absurd.

Obviously, there are secrets we must keep in the interest of national security. But criminal statutes already on the books prohibit unauthorized disclosures of classified information.

When we move from the civilian to the military branch of government, even the staunchest admirer of free speech would hardly argue the need to protect our troops by not advertising operations ahead of time. Certainly the U.S. press accepts this imperative. Indeed, the press has an excellent record for maintain-

ing security wherever reporters have accompanied our troops—from Normandy to Inchon to Vietnam. Yet in Grenada the Pentagon cited security considerations for banning firsthand press coverage of the invasion.

It seems apparent that some cabinet members' hostility toward the press played a part in excluding the press from Grenada. When asked about the departure from the ingrained practice of allowing firsthand coverage of invasions, Secretary of State George Shultz said that in the past the U.S. press "was on our side." His comment suggests a view that the U.S. press has a cheerleading role rather than a dispassionate reporting function.

Do the American people really want unquestioning acceptance of every government decision? Are those who make the decisions in the best position to judge how fair and honest the reporting of their consequences are?

This is not to argue that the press knows best, that it always does its best or even it usually does an acceptable job.

James Madison, a friend of the press, suffered no illusions as to its infallibility: "Some degree of abuse is inseparable from the proper use of everything, and in no instance is this more true than in that of the press....It is better to leave a few of its noxious branches to their luxuriant growth than by pruning away, to injure the vigour of those yielding the proper fruits."

Madison, Mason and some of their 18th century friends clung to the contention that a free, competitive marketplace where ideas get sorely tested, no matter how untidy or downright disorderly the process, represented the best way to arrive at the truth.

Many rejected a free market for ideas then. Those who advocate increased censorship today, in the name of security, also reject it.

"What the hell's going on here"

by Bernard Diederich
Caribbean and Central American
Correspondent for Time

When Secretary of State George Shultz announced that newsmen were no longer on "our side" he was correct. It's a far, far different world with different wars than the great patriotic World War II, when our civilization was threatened and it would have been treason for a newsman to report from the "other side." As a youth, in the Pacific theater of that war, I saw my first foreign correspondent—he was uniformed and could have been a general.

It all began to change during Korea when not all newsmen were accredited in that United Nations' war. When in April 1965 President Lyndon Johnson ordered the U.S. Marines and 82nd Airborne ashore in the Dominican Republic some of us went ashore with the first wave of Marines. Daily we crossed the marines' lines to cover the rebel side of the war. Then came Vietnam and the great myth that the press lost that one. Nicaragua and El Salvador require continuous crossing of lines to get the full story and the cost, in lives of newsmen, has been high. Newsmen have not changed, it is the nature of the wars that have changed and like Grenada, most of them are undeclared wars.

During those first three days of the invasion of Grenada, when the press was



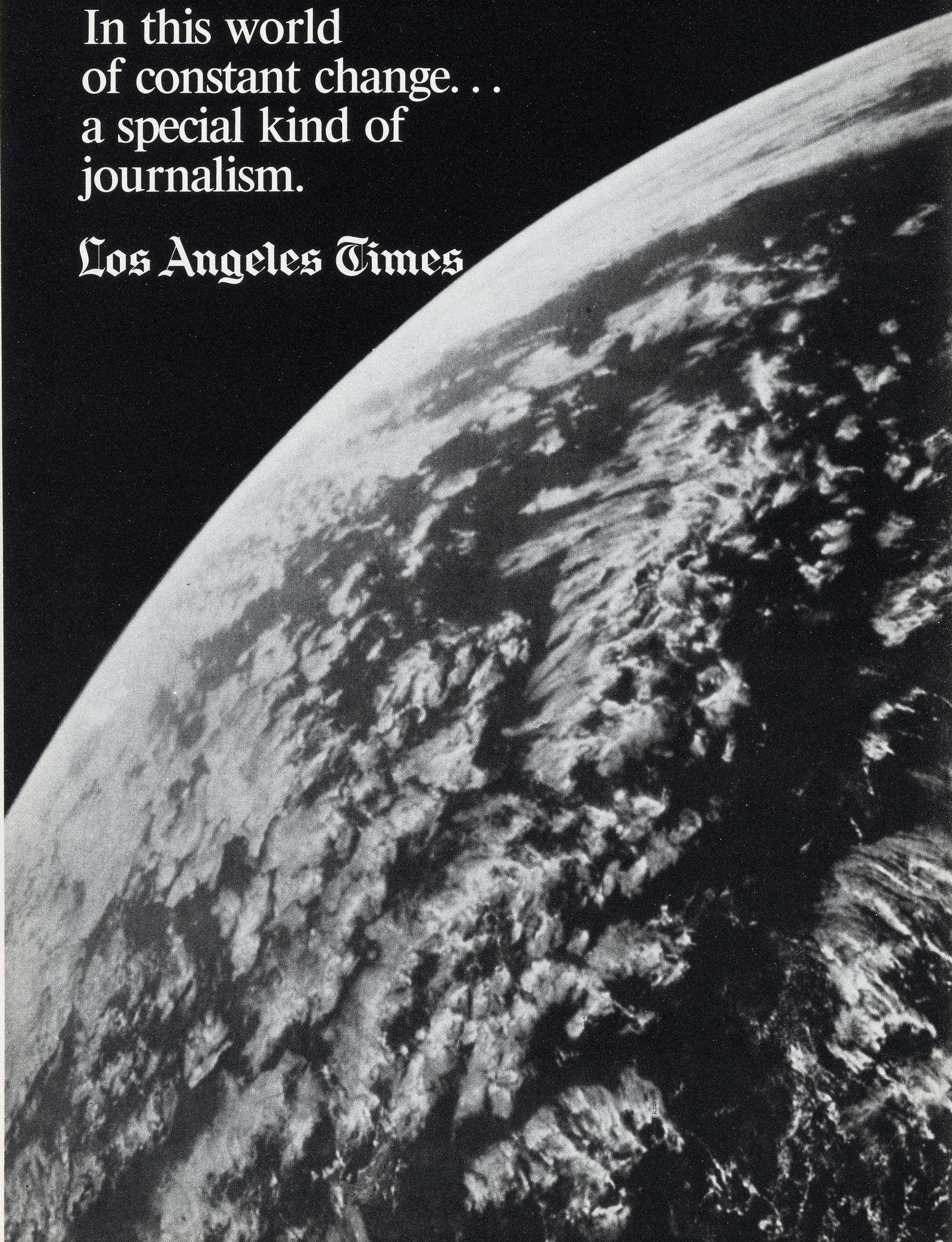
U.S. MP's and their Caribbean partners conduct a routine search of vehicles: part of their police duties.

banned by the Reagan administration, each time we crossed the U.S. Marine lines around Queen's Park, we were repeatedly asked, "Hey, you from TIME, what the hell's going on here?" If he had listened to the radio he would have been even more confused. And if he had read the line in George Orwell's *Homage to Catalonia*, "we saw great battles reported where there had been no fighting," he would have understood that the invasion news was under new and exclusive management. As frightening as the press ban

imposed by Washington was, even more frightening was their mismanagement of the news when they had their exclusive! Yet the administration won. It received widespread support from the public that preferred to be banned, along with the press, from Grenada and savor the inflated official reports. A sad commentary on how the public views the role of the press in a free society, with more than a touch of irony for those of us who have covered the fiefdoms of Caribbean dictators such as Rafael Trujillo Molina

In this world
of constant change...
a special kind of
journalism.

Los Angeles Times



who managed the news in his Dominican Republic for 31 years until his assassination in 1961, and Dr. Francois "Papa Doc" Duvalier who decided what Haitians should hear or read.

As with other Latin dictators, censorship was one of their principal arms of power. In Grenada, the People's Revolutionary Government feared if it allowed freedom of expression the revolution would be undermined. The bloodied Revolutionary Military Council which replaced it booted out foreign newsmen and banned them from the island; promising to allow them back once they had cleaned up their act.

As we sailed down the coast of Grenada on D-day morning, the seven of us heard a broadcast from the invading forces citing a litany of crimes committed by the Revolutionary Military Council, and high on the list, actually the second crime, was the expulsion and banning of newsmen from the island. Reassured, we begged Captain Alfred to increase the speed of his sturdy little 15-foot fishing boat. Taut as any fishing line with a big fish at the other end, we judged by the radio reports that the invasion would be over by midmorning. But we found it had hardly begun when we clambered ashore in the Grenadian capital of St. Georges into the arms of members of the People's Revolutionary Army and not the U.S. Marines, who were, according to the radio reports, in command of the quay. They didn't even land on this side of the island until evening, and then they remained encamped in Queen's Park on the outskirts of town.

Futuristic war machines crisscrossed the skies and hopped over the rugged green hills behind the quaint town unchanged since the 19th century. We felt the concussion of their bombing runs and rocket attacks and saw one Sea Stallion crash in flames. We saw Spectre, the son of Puff-the-Magic-Dragon of Vietnam days, puff off 6,000 computerized 20-millimeter rounds and set afire Butler House, the Prime Minister's offices. But nothing the radio said matched what was happening on the ground. As we sat, literally on Ft. Rupert's doorstep, Radio Trinidad broadcast a war communique from U.S. sources describing how U.S. Marines were storming the fort, where only lizards stirred on the ancient battlements before us. With the first bombardment in the morning the garrison had fled, leaving a dead comrade behind.

The only accurate radio report we heard was the first one shortly after dawn on October 25 when we had been

awakened by war planes on the outer Grenadian island of Carriacou which we had reached by outboard motor boat from Union Island after an air charter from Barbados. That report was from Radio Free Grenada, and shortly after six the female announcer went off the air with her last plaintive, "no other forces must be allowed to land on this shore! With our people and our P.R.A., we will fight to the last man and woman on this island."

Colonel Jimmy Ashworth, commander of the U.S. Army's psychological operations, confirmed that it was his psy-ops radio station which we had picked up at 1560 on the dial, the Voice of America's Caribbean frequency, at eight o'clock, minutes after it went on the air. While he declined to give the location of the station, which shortly changed to the frequency used by Radio Free Grenada, by Thursday they had rolled ashore at the Point Salines Airport a radio transmitter which the navy just happened to have available.

Psy-ops had a field day. Its reports were picked up and disseminated throughout the world. There was no competition. The seven of us in St. Georges were kept away from the Cable & Wireless telex office by a P.R.A. order backed up by a machinegun nest. Only at nightfall Tuesday were our pleas to be permitted to use the telex facilities answered, but it was too late. Communications, intentionally or unintentionally, had been cut by the bombing. The P.R.A. soldiers who careened down to the "Carenage" (waterfront) from Fort Frederick in their little jeeps had, as it later turned out, more accurate information. They informed us that the old folks home behind the town near Fort Frederick had been bombed and thirty people killed. Actually it was the mental hospital which had taken 250 pound bombs and resulted in 18 bedridden inmates being killed. They described the ambush of a U.S. jeep near the Cuban airport at Point Salines, which turned out to be true, but then joined psy-ops performance in declaring they were now "pushing the Americans back, off the airport."

With daily deadlines to meet, four of our group prevailed upon Lt. Col. Fred Smith, whose 22nd Marine Amphibious Unit had landed north of the town during Tuesday night and bivouaced in Queen's Park, to fly them to the U.S.S. Guam, the flagship of the invasion fleet, where they hoped to file their stories. Vice Admiral Joseph Metcalf III, the thin cigar-chomping veteran of the evacuation of Saigon, was surprised to

see them. They spent 24 frustrating hours under permanent escort and learned they were unwelcome and unwanted and were not permitted to file a line. The four: Edward Cody of the Washington Post, Don Bohning of The Miami Herald, Morris Thompson from Newsday and Greg Chamberlain of the Guardian (London), were given a choice on Thursday morning: return to Barbados or cover the assault of Richmond Hill. The storming of Richmond Hill seemed to strike just the right chord. It recalled another hill in another Caribbean war when a colonel of the Rough Riders rode up a hill. The dispatches of dashing war correspondent Richard Harding Davis, who covered the ride up San Juan Hill in Cuba, helped make Theodore Roosevelt president of the United States.

The three of us who had remained in Grenada spent Wednesday afternoon observing the marines take Fort Frederick without firing a shot. From the hills we had watched the evacuation of the St. George's Medical School Grand Anse campus and, as the sun was setting, we decided to see if newsman Alister Hughes, who happened to be a TIME stringer among other things, was still alive in the Richmond Hill prison on a neighboring hill. That morning his wife had voiced the fear he was dead. The guards had fled the night before and evaporated as had most of the P.R.A. There were no Cuban resistors in this sector. Inside, the jail was bedlam. A guard had killed one prisoner and locked his body in a cell. The prisoners were in the process of breaking locks on cell doors. Hughes was as large as life. With other political prisoners and a departing warning to the common prisoners not to leave because the marines would surely shoot them mistaking their gray uniforms for P.R.A. soldiers, we left promising we would ask the marine commander to send food and arrange an orderly discharge for those who deserved it. We spent the early evening searching out the marine commander and informed him of the prisoners needs.

When we finally returned to file from Barbados on Thursday afternoon, 24 hours later, we heard the latest radio report: marines were storming Richmond Hill and encountering stiff resistance from Cuban defenders.

The ban was bad enough, but in presenting its case the administration strained credulity because of a strong strain of misinformation. Reality was the first casualty in the Grenada "war," and there was something strangely Orwellian about the whole affair as if "1984" had arrived early. First, Deputy

Prime Minister Bernard Coard had convinced the central committee of the ruling New Jewel Movement that all personal loyalty belonged to the party. The party was supreme over all. He wanted "Big Brother" to run the show. Blood followed. Then the contradictory declarations from the fleet and Washington made it appear they had suddenly adopted Orwell's "newspeak" with "war is peace," "ignorance is strength." I recall thinking of Ernie Pyle when we found the body of the young marine pilot on the beach near his destroyed helicopter. My initial impulse was to carry him back to the marine lines on the other side of town, but first I went back

and warned an officer to advise his men on point duty not to freak out or shoot the persons carrying the body. A few days later, when Reagan's war with the media became news, the attitude of the soldiers suddenly changed to "don't talk to the messenger" (the media). Pyle hated the blood and sweat of wartime journalism and gave his life for it wanting to be the last war correspondent, not the best. In the new scheme of things Ernie will be the last of that breed.

Back in Grenada, in February, with Carl Mydans, one of the outstanding war photographers, we experienced the change. (He and his wife spent two years in a Japanese prisoner of war camp after

their capture in the Phillipines at the outbreak of World War II.) Small of stature, Carl stands tall as a patriot. In a little Grenadian town he got out of the car to photograph a jeepload of army MPs. He returned to the car crestfallen, "Did you see that? They accelerated and snarled at me. Why?" "It is fallout from Mr. Reagan's victory over the press," said a fellow newsman and "a bad precedent for all of us."

No matter what the media panel (headed by Maj. Gen. Winant Sidle, ret.) comes up with to accommodate coverage in future wars no foreign correspondent worth his keep will agree to being placed in a harness or a straight jacket.

Whose side are you on?

by Jonathan Friendly
Covers Press for
The New York Times

A couple of days after the Marines pulled out of Beirut, the wire services carried a little story saying six American soldiers were holed up in a monastery in the hills of Lebanon. From their position, they overlooked Syrian-held territory and could direct shelling from the warships standing off the coast. It was the kind of story that automatically raises the hackles of military commanders, who think that it needlessly exposes the spotters to direct attack. Why can't the press hold off on printing that kind of information? They ask. Whose side are you on anyway?

Some of the reporters covering Jesse Jackson's campaign for the Democratic Presidential nomination are black. Repeatedly during the first few months of his campaign, Jackson confided in them, talking freely about his strategies and concerns. Then, the campaign started slipping and the candidate made some mistakes. The reporters reported those facts. Jackson talked to the reporters, telling them the critical stories could harm the cause of black improvement. Whose side are you on anyway?

Reporters know, of course, that the censors and the would-be censors are always with us. When they can stop stories from being published, they will. The Justice Department's silly exercise in trying to block the printing of a judicial opinion that criticized the Internal Revenue Service is a recent case in point. Fortunately in our society, the most egregious efforts usually are blocked, although the Reagan Administration's blanket invocation of "national security"

to hide political embarrassments may be changing the ratio a bit.

But there are growing pressures for self-censorship and some evidence to suggest that the pressures are having an effect.

The phenomenon is partially economic. The spectacular failure of half a dozen major metropolitan dailies underlined newspapers' dependence on maintaining the goodwill of advertisers, for example. And every megabuck libel verdict reinforces the press lawyers' talk about a "chilling" effect. When editors say that they have never killed a story because they feared legal retribution but that some other small, vulnerable news organization will back off from vigorous, controversial reporting, the message is understood in their own newsrooms.

Just as often and as insidiously, self-censorship arises out of a fairly straightforward desire to be a good citizen and to be accepted. Twenty years ago, as a cub reporter in Raleigh, N.C., I wrote a concert review that was mildly critical of a distinguished visiting artist. For the next several days I got letters from readers saying that if the paper was going to print nasty reviews, good performers would not come to town and such a boycott would further impoverish a city whose cultural life was not rich to begin with. Whose side are you on anyway?

There are echoes of those letters in the UNESCO arguments about the need for positive stories that do not undercut progress in a developing nation. What dreadful pressures that puts on a third-

world journalist who wants to write fairly and responsibly and helpfully about problems in his or her society.

But the problem is not limited to Ghana or Pakistan or Nicaragua. It resonates in those studies—commissioned by publishers and editors—that have recently been talking about how young American journalists are alienated from their communities. Editors are being adjured to start loving their readers. Don't you want to be a crime-stopper? Aren't we going to hurt someone if we publish this story? Whose side are you on anyway?

Withholding the news about a kidnapping until the police have had a decent chance to effect a rescue is acceptable self-restraint, consonant with the principle that news organizations ought to be careful about affecting the events they describe. So too is voluntarily waiting until the polls close before we broadcast a projection of an election outcome. But at what point does self-restraint become the first step on the slippery slope toward cooperation? What worries me is that we could defang ourselves by letting a concern for being "responsible" do to us what Spiro Agnew and his intellectual heirs could never do in a frontal assault.

We are partisans of an idea, the idea that the people have a need for and a right to information about the events and issues central to their day-to-day life. It helps to remember that when the general, the politician or even the publisher asks "Whose side are you on anyway?"



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Press gags epidemic

by Peter Galliner
Director of International
Press Institute

The Institute compiles an annual report on press freedom throughout the world. The 1983 survey covered 86 countries. The Institute's membership includes 2,000 editors and publishers in 60 nations. The following was excerpted from Mr. Galliner's 1983 report.

Throughout the world press freedom continues to take a turn for the worse....

Throughout the world newsmen and publishers have found that speaking the truth is not a guaranteed right of the individual, but something to be suppressed or distorted. The majority of signatories to the UN Charter on Human Rights or the Helsinki Agreement are breaking their word.

Today only a small part of the globe can boast this free speech is respected and honoured. The rest of the world is "gagged."

Most of Eastern Europe continues to jail journalists and writers, as does most of Africa, the Middle East, South, Central and Latin America and Asia.

Some do not even bother with the luxury of prisons, some prefer more direct measures like the bullet.

During 1983 many journalists died around the world. Newsmen, as always, have been at the front lines of all major conflicts. Some of the worst places to be a reporter today are Central and Latin America....

In January, eight journalists were murdered by Peruvian Indians after they entered the Ayacucho region. The government, after setting up an "impartial" investigation, claimed that the men had been mistaken for Sendero Luminoso terrorists and killed by local peasants.

Amnesty International, on the other hand, insist that they were executed as part of a regional security policy. Locals were instructed to kill all intruders and to do so with the maximum cruelty, they say....

The Middle East has again been another area high in journalistic casualties... Some stepped onto mines, others were hit by shrapnel and some were pinpointed by snipers....

In many countries journalists and writers face other dangers, but their plight rarely comes to light. Many governments around the world continue

to dispose of troublesome reporters silently. Some are "disappeared," never to return, while others are placed in hospitals for the insane, only to be released when "cured."

The role of the journalist has never been harder than it is today.

Yet despite this growing trend, there are still courageous and responsible newsmen prepared to speak out as our review of 1983 shows.

However, much too little is reported in the free world's press. Despite the fact that the international news agencies have been outstanding in their coverage of the closing down of newspapers, the trials and sentences of journalists, the constant harassment and persecution which journalists and editors have to face, coverage in the press has been minimal.

If more journalists in the free world were concerned about the fate of their colleagues in the rest of the world, every newspaper would publish such cases automatically.

More often than not, these stories are spiked because the gatekeepers, the news editors, the copy-tasters, do not recognize the implications of these violations.

To ignore these harassments is to accept the deliberate attacks by governments on freedom of expression.

If cases of persecution, torture and imprisonment of journalists were as a matter of rule reported whenever they happened, this would ultimately influence public opinion and, no doubt, governments too. Those governments who are the worst offenders are often guided by the reactions of the outside

world. Silence to them means the acquiescence of their actions.

It is the task of the media to lead the battle in the defense of freedom of expression. Governments cannot be expected to act without the pressures of public opinion, and in order to generate public support the media must take a much more active and determined stand to influence their governments against any action, national or international, which limits freedom of expression.

We have also witnessed over recent years a tacit shift from individual freedoms and rights to collective ones in the framework of Unesco's so-called New World Information and Communications Order. The governments' pledges to the Human Rights Charter to respect individual rights have in many cases been silently abandoned in favor of collective rights.

This is a simple move to make, because it is much more convenient for governments to talk about and promise collective freedoms because they then do not have to adhere to individual rights, such as freedom of expression....

If we were to accept the new phraseology of collective rights and forget our basic individual ones, we would find ourselves on quicksand. This would mean the end of freedom of expression, freedom of speech and press freedom in general.

The only people who can speak out for these freedoms are the journalists and editors of those countries which already accept them as second nature. Ignoring them, for whatever reason, will not make them go away. It will only bring them nearer.

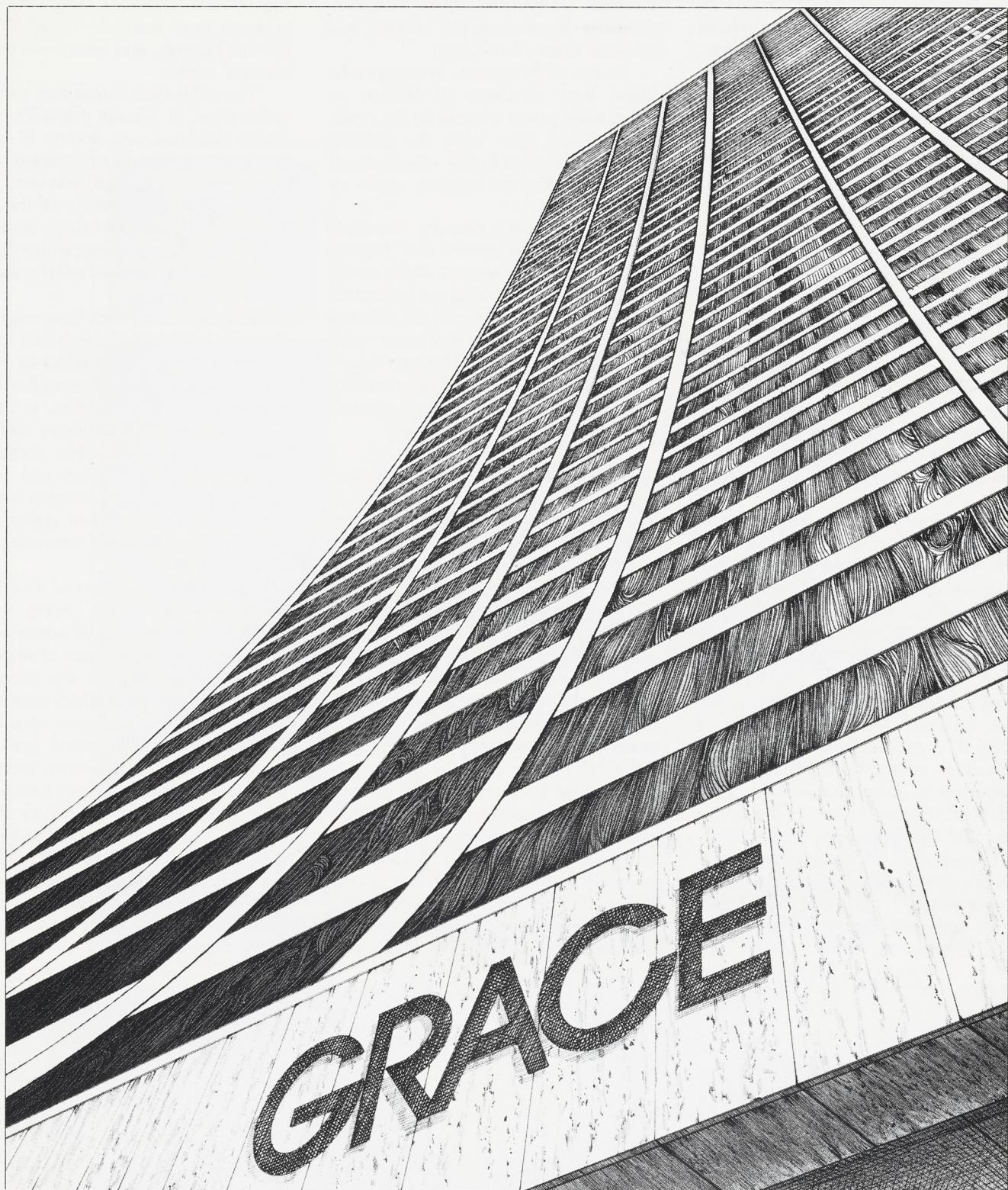
Censorship: 500 years of conflict

by Vartan Gregorian
President,
New York Public Library

Methods of censorship have changed throughout history and the targets have differed, but the institution of censorship has tenaciously remained. Now, in 1984, the year which symbolizes the spectre of Orwellian control, The New York Public Library is mounting an

exhibition which traces five centuries of censorship in Western culture from the advent of printing to the present. *Censorship: 500 Years of Conflict* is drawn entirely from the European and Americana collections of The New York Public Library.

The exhibition consists of rare books, manuscripts and prints which are landmarks in the history of censorship. It contains an abundance of banned litera-



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ture, from the writings of Galileo to those of James Joyce. It includes official lists of books banned by the Inquisition, authoritarian powers, the Nazi Government and even the U.S. Post Office; and records from the classic court trials of John Peter Zenger, Thomas Paine and Henry Miller, juxtaposed with manifestos and essays on freedom of expression by Locke, Milton and Jefferson.

The exhibit also contains prints by such artists as Daumier, Gillray and George Grosz whose works became political weapons, and were in many instances legally censored. While many people are familiar with many of the books and prints in the exhibition, few have had the opportunity to see the originals. Never before have so many important examples of censorship been assembled to highlight and explore such a broad historic survey of the subject.

Censorship: 500 Years of Conflict is divided into six chronological sections, each focusing on the major censorship controversies within their respective periods. These conflicts were typically between the Church or the State, and their perceived adversaries: scientists, clergy, artists, writers, philosophers, social reformers or political figures who were accused of being proponents of heretical, dangerous ideas. Throughout the exhibit, censorship is revealed as an instrument to enforce orthodoxy in the realms of religion, mores, political systems and ideologies, and even science.

During the 15th century, the invention of printing contributed to the spread of new religious ideas and movements which opposed Roman Catholic doctrine. Writings by Luther, Machiavelli,

Rabelais, Calvin and others were censored for threatening the political and religious order of the day.

In the 17th century, new scientific ideas, such as those of Galileo or Copernicus posed a threat to the established world view, while the political ideas of Milton and Locke were censored for questioning the absolute power of the Monarchy.

The eighteenth century witnessed the emergence of writers and thinkers who envisioned a society which would accept political and religious toleration, freedom of expression and the rights of citizens to participate in their governance. Rousseau's *Emile* and Thomas Paine's *The Rights of Man* were censored for attacking established mores or advocating Revolution.

During the 19th century, books considered offensive to accepted mores of the community were either "bowdlerized" or censored, including collected works of Shakespeare and poetry by Elizabeth Barrett Browning.

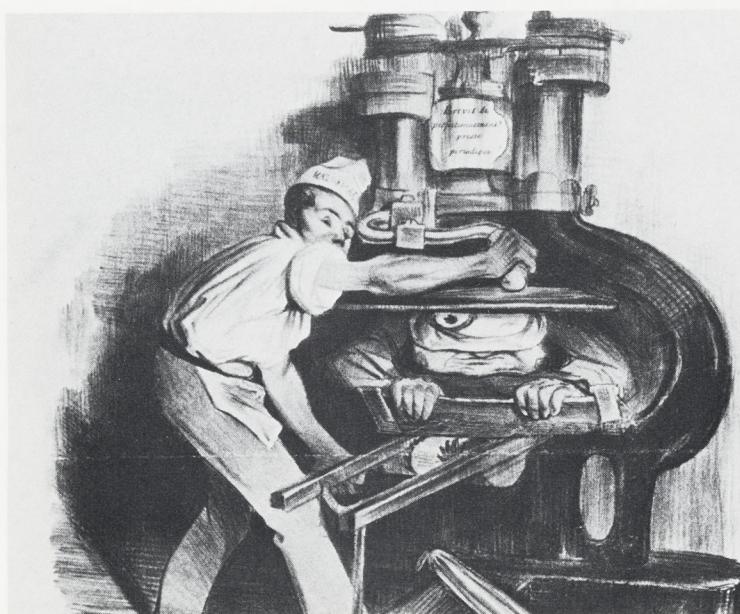
In the early 20th century, anarchists, socialists, cultural and political radicals and social reformers opposed the 19th century Victorian morality and "bourgeois" politics. Their activities provoked censorship by American and European governments, culminating with an attempt to silence pacifists opposed to World War I. After 1920 the primary targets of censorship were crusaders against social and moral strictures, such as Margaret Sanger or D. H. Lawrence, or advocates of revolutionary movements. At the same time, with the triumph of Facism and Naziism, mass book burnings were organized in which writ-

ings by such "bourgeois" and "decadent" authors were burned—Freud, Marx, Brecht, Einstein, and Mann—as well as classical works.

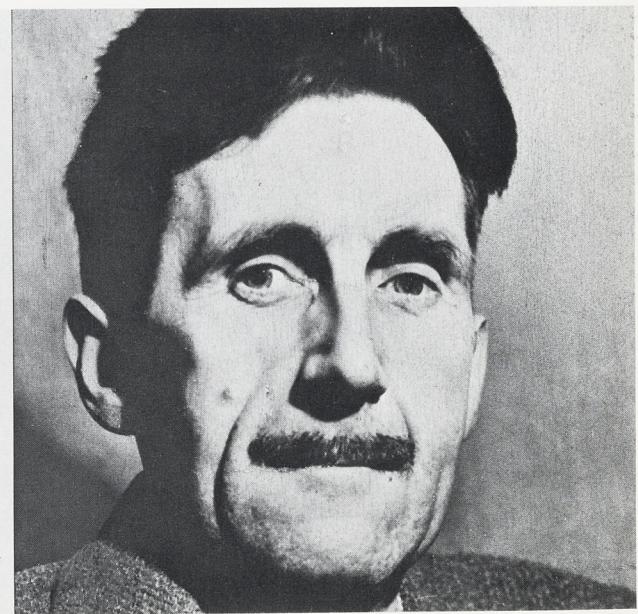
The exhibition culminates with the publication of George Orwell's *1984*, which depicts a new society in which books were required to conform to the exigencies of "national interests" over the freedom and creativity of the individual. An epilogue brings issues of censorship to the present, with a display of books which are censored throughout the world today.

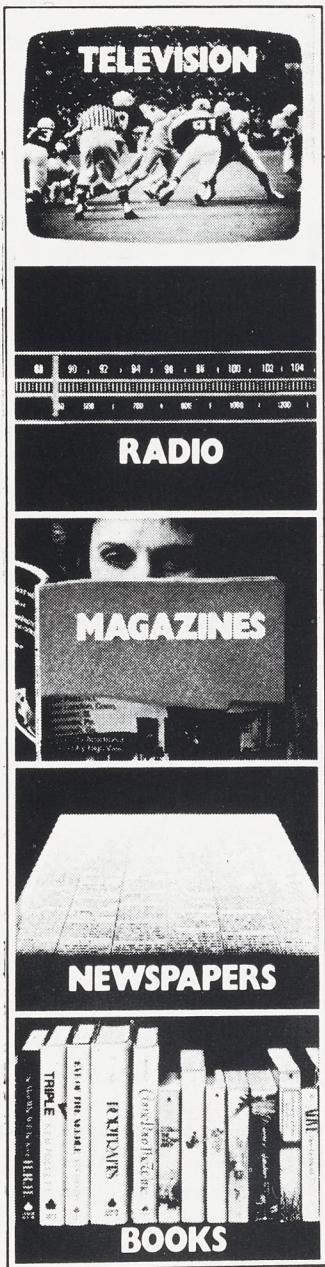
In conjunction with *Censorship: 500 Years of Conflict*, the Library will mount four complementary exhibitions which examine censorship in Eastern European countries, in Black America, in theatre and in libraries. The Library will also sponsor a series of public forums in which prominent scholars and public figures will discuss such issues as national security versus individual rights, textbook censorship, press censorship and pornography.

Censorship: 500 Years of Conflict is intended to develop a deeper understanding of the impact of censorship in Western culture, and to identify the historic precedents for the forces of repression and control which exist today. The exhibition emphasizes the interplay of two fundamental historical forces: the quest for freedom and progress, and the resistance to change. The very ability of The New York Public Library and other major libraries to collect and preserve the legacy of both the censor and the censored, the conformist and the rebel, is a tribute to free expression and the quest for knowledge and enlightenment.



Lithograph by Honore Daumier, 1934 included in "Censorship: 500 Years of Conflict" at The New York Public Library and George Orwell, whose year, 1984, has arrived.





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Our first off-the-record war

by Edward M. Joyce, President
CBS News

On October 25, 1983 the United States and six Caribbean nations invaded the island of Grenada. On that day, the U.S. introduced a new relationship with the press, a relationship virtually unknown in our history, as our country conducted its first off-the-record war.

A Pentagon-appointed panel has probed those events, and apparently recognizes that errors were indeed made in relations with the press. However, it is worth recounting what happened to avoid glossing over the October events as a one-time occurrence that we will never witness again.

The restrictions imposed by our government on Grenada coverage prevented the press from gathering and reporting the news to the public. By denying access to the press, the government also denied to the public the ability to receive information from an independent press. Instead, the American public received only the information the government wanted it to receive. That is not what a free society is all about.

The American press is a responsible press. We are not seeking to report military secrets. We are not seeking to jeopardize lives. But those interests could have been protected without resorting to the unprecedented blackout that the government imposed in Grenada.

That government action was an unprecedented manipulation of the press, a blatant effort to use the media as handmaidens of government to spoon-feed the public with "approved" information. If the government is permitted to abrogate the First Amendment at will, to the detriment of not simply the press but the public as well, similar action might well be taken whenever a government wishes to keep the public in the dark.

The press has covered literally every war fought by our country, serving as a ratifying factor in reporting to the public what has occurred. We do not cover wars from hotel rooms far behind the lines of battle; we do not wish to cover wars on the basis of hand-outs from the Pentagon. Indeed, from World War II to now, more than 125 correspondents have been killed while covering wars in which the U.S. has been involved.

I appreciate the problems of military security; I understand the situations



Cuban money and 400 technicians.

that require military censorship. Journalists have worked with the U.S. military under battlefield conditions and under a variety of censorship standards. During World War II, for example, the military set forth the governing principle for the employment of field press censorship, "that the minimum amount of information will be withheld from the public consistent with security." In Vietnam, the press voluntarily observed military security rules.

On the third day of the Grenada invasion, the Pentagon began to release its own film, representing what the government wanted the public to see and believe. When the press was finally admitted to Grenada, initially it was compelled to operate in the most limited and restricted fashion. We saw what our government wanted us to see, when our government wanted us to see it, for as long as our government deemed appropriate.

On the sixth day the press was allowed to cover Grenada in a meaningful fashion. Paradoxically, some of the CBS News coverage was so "positive" from the U.S. point of view that the stories would not have had the same credibility had they been issued with the imprimatur of the Pentagon—the director of the U.S.-bombed mental hospital, justifying our attack; a widely-published CBS News poll, showing that the Grenadians applauded the invasion. Undoubtedly we also carried the stories the

Pentagon would have preferred not seeing.

The real issue here is not the military blackout at the time of the invasion but the political censorship which followed. If there was a perceived need for silence for security's sake before the invasion, that need disappeared when the first American soldier set foot on Grenada. The enemy knew we were there.

Technology and times may change, but not, it appears, the human predicament. Thomas Jefferson in an 1813 letter wrote:

"The first misfortune of the Revolutionary War induced a motion to suppress or garble the account of it. It was rejected with indignation."

Now let me offer another quote:

"Why should freedom of speech and freedom of the press be allowed? Why should a government which is doing what it believes to be right allow itself to be criticized? It should not allow opposition by lethal weapons. Ideas are much more fatal things than guns. Why should any man be allowed to buy a printing press and disseminate pernicious opinions calculated to embarrass the government?"

Those words were spoken in 1920 by Nikolai Lenin.

Each of these men knew that when authorities control and maintain a monopoly of the information flow, then the people can be suppressed and individual freedom eliminated. But we opted for a free and open society, and I fervently pray that we keep it that way.

Everybody has to learn

by Peter Kihss
Correspondent for
N.Y. Herald-Tribune
and New York Times

Censorship—press control—has many forms. It's a problem which governments and people seem to have to learn about and re-learn for themselves without regard to the lessons of history.

It doesn't work. It sometimes causes more hurt than would have occurred otherwise.

My first experience with it was 50 years ago when I worked for The New York Times under its great chief South American correspondent, John W. White. On Dec. 2, 1933, the eve of the Pan American Conference in Uruguay, every newspaper in Montevideo was blocked from publishing by a typesetter strike that protested deportations of some opposition leaders.

Correspondents' dispatches were stopped by cable companies which told them "the presidency does not permit the transmission of news referring to the strike or other types of disorders."

It took about a day to get the story out by other means.

When the United States Secretary of State, Cordell Hull, started for home through Argentina, a minor revolt broke out in southern Argentina. We were still in Montevideo.

The Argentine government blocked publication of the revolt story at home and transmission by cable. But it had overlooked the fact that La Nacion of Buenos Aires had a private telephone link to Montevideo. John White got the reports La Nacion couldn't print, and filed stories from Montevideo for several days until the revolt ended.

Argentina in those days did not ordinarily keep a censor in cable offices. Its system was nastier. It had a standing order that threatened cable companies with a shutdown if they transmitted derogatory dispatches. This made the companies all too wary. But there were always travellers going by overnight boats to Montevideo.

Long after, I was back at The Times when the longtime Dominican Republic dictator, Rafael Trujillo, was assassinated in 1961. Dominican exiles in New York and elsewhere immediately circulated stories about revolution and civil war flaring. I was sent to cover.

The country was under absolute control and quiet—the Trujillo family

and other factions consolidating to retain power. But the exiles' reports were bombarding abroad. When another Times correspondent arrived, I went out across the country from south to north.

That night when I telephoned New York, an editor interrupted, "we now know where the fighting is—it's in Moca." I had gone through Moca in the afternoon. I stopped in at the hot and dusty barracks. All it had was seven idling soldiers. But a long period of press controls and dictatorship left disbelief about conditions everywhere.

Censorship is not just a problem of governments. I remember a 1934 situation in Peru when the Roman Catholic hierarchy declared a one-day strike because the government had issued a decree to allow divorces by mutual consent.

Lima newspapers described how people even died that day without absolution, and some priests were brought up on church charges for absolving some of the dying. I wasn't working then. A few days later I was talking with a major foreign newspaper's stringer. He told me he hadn't cabled any story. He had an import business. The government, he said, might have gotten irritated. "I might have been expelled," he said. "No story is worth that risk."

There's an argument that newsmen should have a sense of responsibility. This can mean self-censorship. I've been guilty of that myself. I covered the United Nations' first six years for the old New York Herald Tribune. Toward

the end, in 1951, the United States began major interfering with the Secretariat.

Article 100 of the Charter pledges each member government against seeking to influence the staff in the discharge of its responsibilities.

But President Harry Truman's administration was under fire at home from Senator Joseph McCarthy and others about alleged Communist influence everywhere. The administration started investigating Americans in the Secretariat who were suspected of left-wing sympathies.

I learned about it. I had qualms. With some exceptions, I held off from writing stories. Other correspondents usually weren't so informed.

I thought it would hurt the individuals to have stories published that there was some questions or suspicion about them. So far as I knew, they were good citizens and international servants, not perverting United Nations programs or policies.

Any story would hurt the world organization. It would also hurt the United States to be portrayed as trying to control the Secretariat, something the Soviet Union had already attempted and continues trying.

The stories eventually did come out. They broke late and wholesale. The Senate Internal Security Subcommittee called lots of the United Nations employees plus State Department officials to public hearings.

The stories might have been published earlier, with perhaps opportunity for re-thinking and with less damage to the individuals, the United Nations and the United States. The censoring was the reporter's own. The intentions were good. The results were hurtful.

Censorship born of fear

by George A. Krimsky
News Editor of World Services
for the Associated Press

Censorship.

The phenomenon is so prevalent today, its meaning is almost obscured by numbing repetition. Most of us in the "free world" have never even experienced it—at least in its blatant form—but as members of the journalistic brotherhood, we condemn it out of a sense of solidarity and duty. Like one

who has never been robbed or raped, we cannot fully understand the totality of its offensiveness.

We can intellectualize the harm censorship causes: depriving the people of their "right to know," hiding public malfeasance, prostituting an honorable profession.

But, let us not delude ourselves:—Censorship of the press will always exist in societies where there is not a strictly enforced body of laws, checks and balances built on a foundation of democratic principles. Such societies

人々に役立つ創造、これが最高のアイデアです

Les meilleures idées sont les idées qui servent l'homme.

بهترین ایده‌ها. ایده‌هاییست که بمردم خدمت کند

As melhores idéias são aquelas que ajudam as pessoas.

គ្រាមគិតទីនឹង គីរ ឱ្យគិតទីជាយមានធន

Ideeën zijn pas goed als ze mensen echt helpen.

智慧之源 助人爲本

Ideen, die den Menschen helfen, sind die besten Ideen.

सर्वश्रेष्ठ विचार वे हैं जो जन सहायक होते हैं

Las mejores ideas son las ideas que ayudan a la gente.

When something's worth saying, it's worth saying to the world.

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Rockwell International is NASA's prime contractor for the Space Shuttle Orbiters and their Rocketdyne main engines, and we're assisting NASA in the Shuttle's transition to full operational status.

are not only in the vast minority, but they are very difficult to maintain.

—Outright censorship, as in the bureaucrat's red pencil, is far less common—and less insidious—than the self-censorship that thrives on the fear of what might happen. In some repressive societies, the threat of censorship is hardly even hinted at, much less written down (how uncouth!); it is just known. Israeli military censorship has been sharply criticized by the Friends of Freedom, but at least we can see the enemy.

—Governments with national goals—and which doesn't have them—inevitably regard press censorship as a necessary sacrifice in the quest for progress, goodness, victory or what have you. In other words, the "ends" usually have it over the "means." Jefferson may have said he would prefer newspapers-without-government over government-without-newspapers, but in his gut, he despised the press of his day. Could he have been pushed into eating those noble words in the event of an appropriate national emergency?

—Journalists in most of the world have worked under a form of censorship for most of their lives, and would be at a loss without it. They become preoccupied with the "effect" of a story—who will be harmed, who will be helped. That consciousness bears the

seed of censorship, and it happens in Washington as well as Moscow.

—There are those among us, right here in the bastion of free expression, who quietly believe in censorship in the name of the common good. They include those many Americans who supported the Pentagon's ban on coverage of the Grenada invasion. Even in the American press, many thought the publication of the Pentagon papers was "going too far," whether it won a Pulitzer Prize or not. And there are those, both inside and outside the press, who question whether the public's right to know extends into the bedrooms of the famous. This all smacks of censorship because it presupposes limits on free expression.

—As misguided as we may think they are, there are well-meaning people out there who regard our exhortations against censorship as self-serving hypocrisy at best and cultural imperialism at worst. Whether they face an enemy on their border, starvation in their streets or hidebound ignorance among their people, they question whether America understands or cares about their problems. A thoughtful, democratically-minded editor in Nigeria once told me that his country's civil war was ignited by a foreign broadcast. He thought the broadcast should not have been made, even though it was accurate, because

he said it was directly responsible for inciting bloodshed.

Does this imply that there is justifiable censorship?

As journalists, that is not for us to judge. We cannot impute motive. We do not permit ourselves to pass judgment on a murder as justifiable homicide. The same applies to censorship. Murder is murder. The victim is dead. Censorship is censorship. The truth is dead.

The best argument I have found against governments that censor is to ask that they put the shoe on the other foot: Even if they genuinely believe that suppression of a news story is necessary for the public good, one can ask them how they would feel if this were done in all the other countries we report from. Wouldn't they feel cheated? The hard fact is that, despite all the complaints from the Second and Third worlds about having to depend on western press reports for news of their own regions, they, in reality, regard western press reports as being the most reliable. The reason is simply that they know their national news organizations are not telling the whole story.

They need the western press for reliable information precisely because we do not apply the same standards of news judgment that they do. In other words, the censors trust us because we are not censored.

Licensing freedom

Senator Charles McC. Mathias, Jr.
Republican Senator
from Maryland

Censorship travels in many guises. Any action by the government that restricts what may be published smacks of censorship. But such a restriction may be imposed at many different points; it may have many different justifications; many different penalties may be levied for violation of the restriction. Sometimes it seems as though the censor's ingenuity rivals that of the creator.

But some forms of censorship seem to crop up repeatedly. In different epochs, in different societies, similar methods have been used to channel expression within boundaries approved by the state. One such hardy perennial in the garden of censorship is a licensing system, which forbids the publication of a certain class of work without prior approval by a government bureaucrat.



Senator Charles McC. Mathias Jr.

Such a system is involved in the most recent struggle over censorship to engage the attention of the Congress. Many of the critics of this latest censorship proposal have labeled it unprecedented and unparalleled. But, if we listen closely to the debate surrounding the proposal, we can hear the echoes of similar controversies from centuries past and from continents distant.

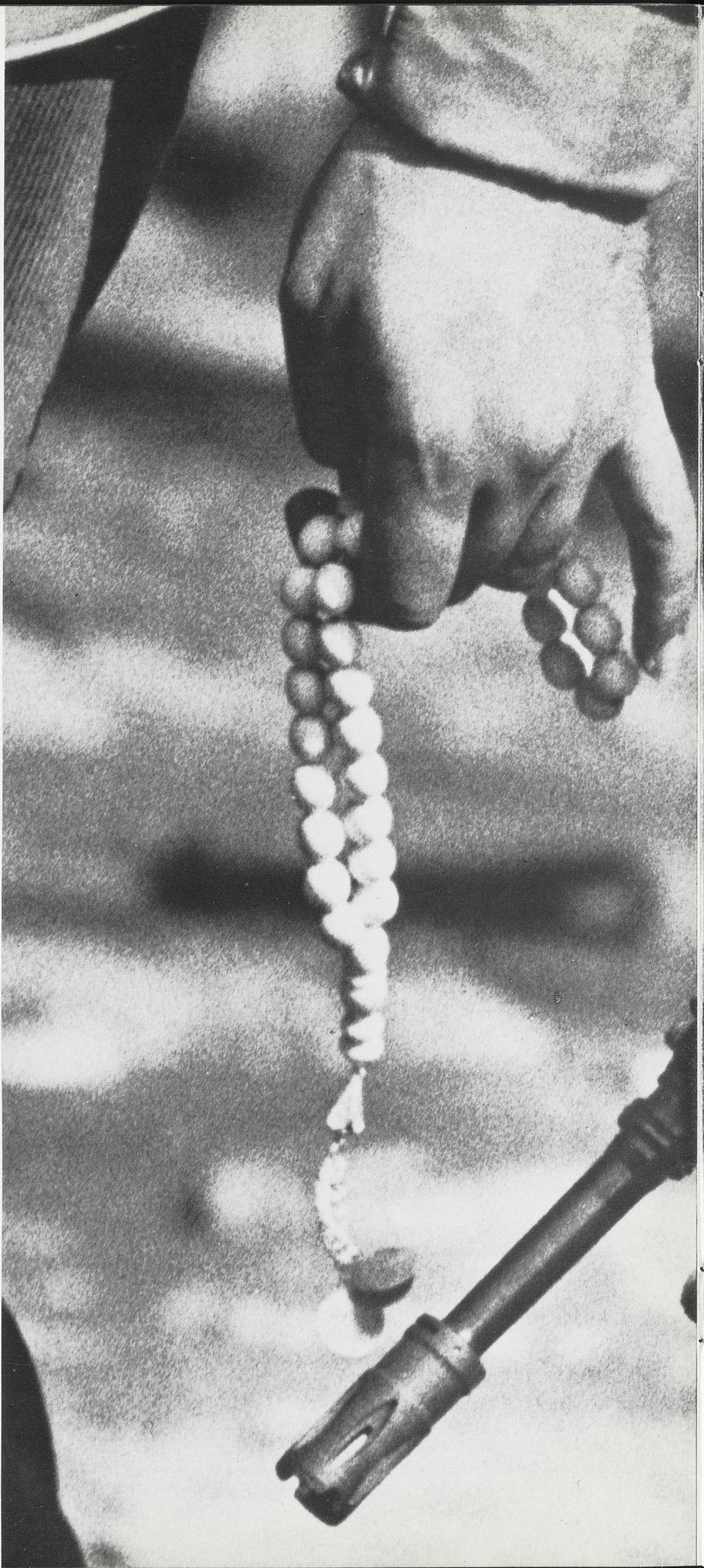
In March of 1983, President Reagan issued National Security Decision Directive 84 (NSDD-84), entitled "Safeguarding National Security Information." Expressing "grave concern" about unauthorized disclosures of classified information, the President ordered Executive Branch agencies to take steps designed to stanch the flow of such leaks. One of the most controversial of these steps was to impose a new restraint on all government officials with access to the most sensitive national secrets. They

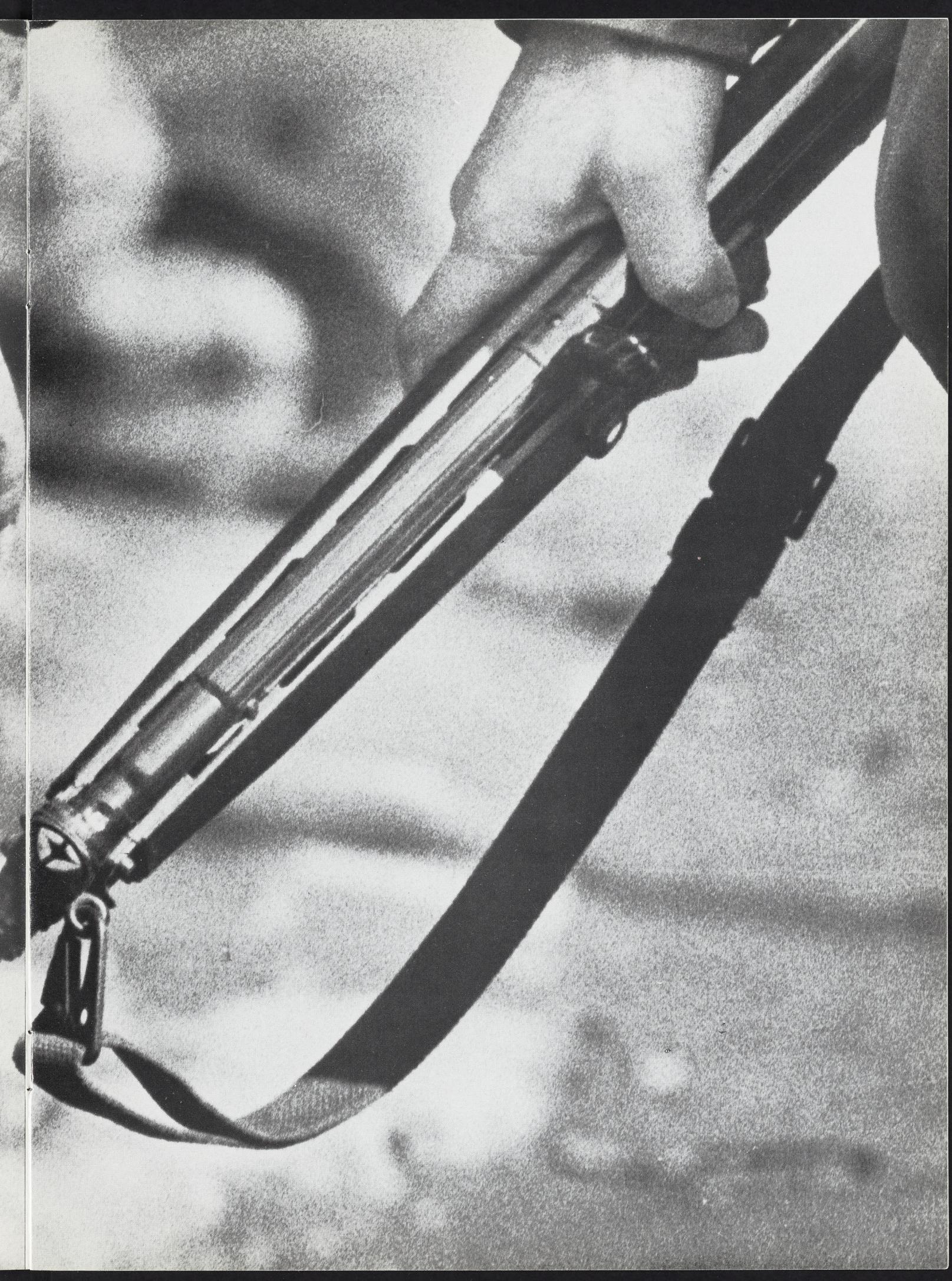
(continued on page 39)

Nothing to worry about.

"Two correspondents are leaving the hotel when they hear of a new car bombing in Beirut. It is nothing serious, they are assured. Only four persons hurt, one a little girl who had her legs blown off. Nothing serious at all."

Boston Globe reporter Curtis Wilkie and photographer Stan Grossfeld, whose work you see, spent 3½ weeks in Lebanon covering a very serious story.





Class 1

The Hal Boyle Award for best daily newspaper or wire service reporting from abroad

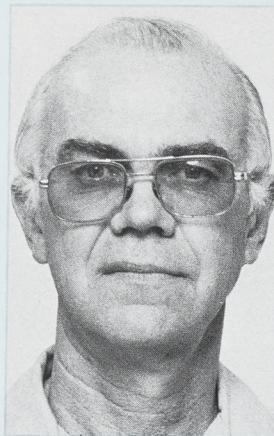
Winner:

Don Bohning,

The Miami Herald, for "Grenada 1983"

Citations:

Michael Sokolove, The Philadelphia Daily News, for "A Few Good Men in Lebanon," and, Max Vanzi, Ronald Redmond and Fernando Del Mundo, UPI, for "Dateline: Manila August 21, 1983"



Class 2

The Bob Considine Award. With a \$1000 honorarium presented by King Features Syndicate for best daily newspaper or wire service interpretation of foreign affairs

Winner:

Karen Elliott House,

The Wall Street Journal, for "Hussein's Decision"



Citations:

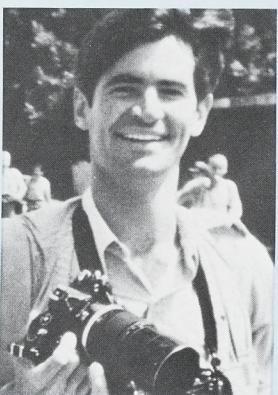
Hal Piper, The Baltimore Sun, for "Disarmament," and Philip Taubman, The New York Times, for foreign affairs

Judges:

Henry Cassidy, Ansel E. Talbert and Andrew Lluberes

Class 3

The Robert Capa Gold Medal. Presented by Life Magazine for best photographic reporting from abroad requiring exceptional courage and enterprise



Citations:

Michael K. Nichols, GEO Magazine, for "The Rope"

Shepard Sherbell, Time Magazine, for "D-Day in Grenada"

Yan Morvan, Newsweek, for "Mortar Barrage"

The OPC 1983 Awards: Honoring Excellence

**Norman A. Schorr, Chairman
1983 Awards Committee**

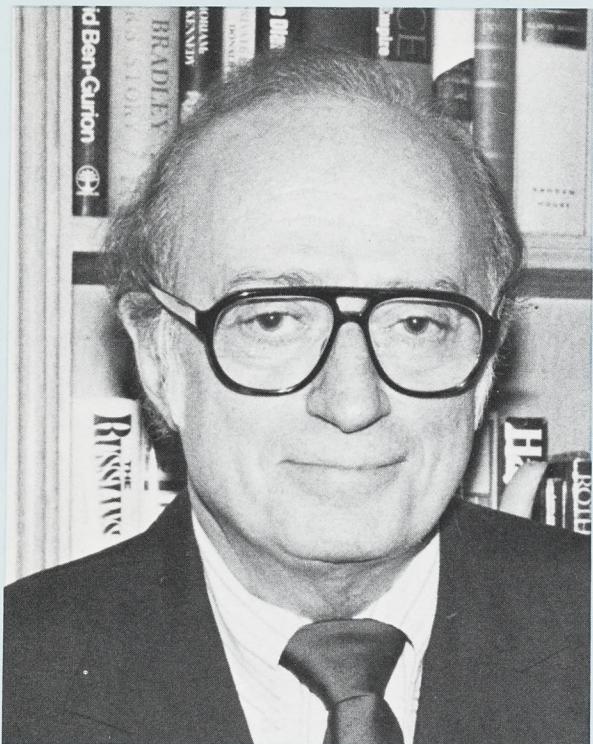
This is a time when the press covers the fighting in Beirut, but is denied access in Grenada and the Falklands. This is a time when a Pulitzer prize is disgraced. When our Government regards the press as enemy. When the lawsuits and assaults on the press are increasing. When new technology has emerged to compete with or expedite the conventional media.

Despite this wide range of challenges, the calibre of work by American correspondents, photographers, writers, broadcasters and others who labor to satisfy Americans' right and desire to know continues to be outstanding.

That's the report from our judges—all professionals in the specific category they evaluated—after their long hours of studying the entries in this year's competition.

The entrants' work was excellent, and the judges' review of the submissions arduous and much appreciated.

The performance by both groups is in keeping with the honored tradition and high standards of the OPC Awards competition, now moving closer to its 50th year.



Norman A. Schorr is the 1983 Awards Chairman

Judges of the OPC 1984 Awards Competitions

*Denotes Chairman **Category

William Arthur
Alfred Balk
George Bookman* **¹²
William Bundy
Cornell Capa
Henry Cassidy* **^{1 & 2}
Howard Chapnick
Linley Clark, Jr.* **
Arnold Drapkin 13
John Durniak
Julia Edwards* **¹⁵
Gerold Frank
Morton Frank* **^{9 & 10}
Pauline Frederick
Kim Gantz
Ralph Gardner
Henry Gellermann
Kenneth Giniger
Howard Kany

Philip Keuper
William H. Kratch
Harvey Kurtzman
Alex Liepa
Andrew Lluberes
Leif Olsen
Joseph Oppenheimer
Paul Rigby
Arnold Roth* **¹¹
Arthur Rothstein
Charles Rotkin* **^{3 & 4}
Grace Shaw* **¹⁴
David Shefrin* **^{7 & 8}
Dr. Gene Sosin* **^{5 & 6}
Ann Stringer
Ansel Talbert
Irvin Taubkin
Arthur Unger
William Wolman

Class 4

The Olivier Rebbot Award.
With \$500 honorarium
plus a plaque presented
by Newsweek for best
photographic reporting
from abroad for magazines
and books



Winner:

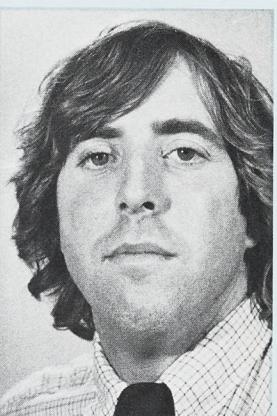
Peter Jordan,
Time Magazine, for "Bombing of
Marine Headquarters in Beirut"

Citations:

Harry Benson, Life Magazine,
for "Samoa," and "Living on
the Edge" Eugene Richards, Life
Magazine, for "Tutors of War"

Class 4

Best photographic
reporting from abroad
for newspapers and wire
services



Winner:

Stan Grossfeld,
The Boston Globe, for "Lebanon"

Citations:

Glenn B. Capers, Bruce Chambers and
Mari A. Schaefer, The Tucson Arizona
Citizen, for "Land in Torment"
Bill Frakes, Marice Cohn and Albert
Coya, The Miami Herald, for "The
Cubans, a Land Divided"
Tony Spina, The Detroit Free

Press, for "The Pope in
Poland"

Judges:

Charles E. Rotkin,
Arnold Drapkin, John
Durniak, Arthur Rothstein,
Cornell Capa and Howard
Chapnick

Class 5

The Ben Grauer Award
for best radio spot news
reporting from abroad



Winner:

Jim Laurie,
ABC News Radio, for
"the Aquino Assassination"

Citations:

Jim Slade, Mutual Broadcasting
System, for "Grenada"
Julie Flint, ABC News Radio, for
"Lebanon"

Class 6

The Lowell Thomas Award for best radio interpretation of foreign news

Winner:

Robert Kotowski,

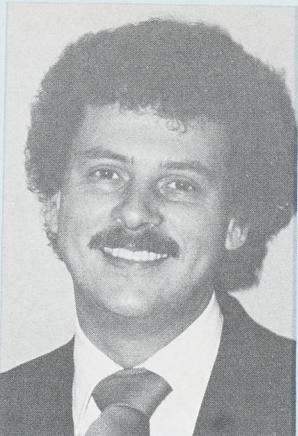
KYW Philadelphia Newsradio, for "Central America: the Central Issue"

Citation:

Richard Threlkeld, ABC News, for "Beirut" and "Grenada"

Judges:

Gene Sosin, Howard Kany and William Kratch



Class 7

Best television spot news reporting from abroad

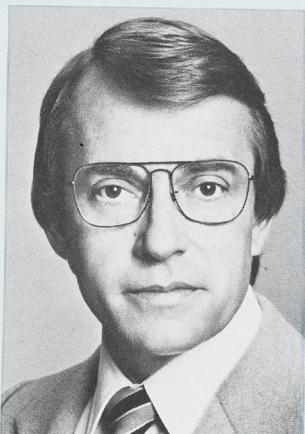
Co-winners:

Richard Threlkeld, ABC News, for "Lebanon" and "Grenada,"

and

Cable News Network,

for excellence in continuing coverage of foreign news



In their 44 years, the Overseas Press Club Awards have become one of the most prestigious marks not just of reporting, but of international reporting: coverage on a global scale.

In recent years, awards have commemorated OPC members, mostly founding members. The awards, like the OPC itself, grew out of a world war, and all too often have centered about armed conflicts since. Many of 1983's winning efforts again come from battlefields, like Lebanon and Grenada. But this year, unlike recent years thank God, none honor reporters who gave their lives in pursuit of their stories.

The OPC received more than 400 entries this year. They came from news operations large and small, all over the U.S., from Canada, and London. The descriptions of the winners that follow come from the opinions of the panels of judges, all experienced and well versed in the specific fields they judge.

Dailies and Wires

The Hal Boyle Award, for best daily newspaper or wire service coverage from abroad, is won for coverage of the Marines' invasion of the island of Grenada. It was the invasion that wasn't supposed to be covered, according to the military. But covered it was, by seven brave newsmen who sailed a 20-foot wooden fishing boat into the harbor of St. George's, upholding—quite to the surprise of the military—the tradition of reporters going ashore with the troops.

Don Bohning of the Miami Herald, one of the seven, wins the Hal Boyle Award for his eye-witness description of the invasion, as well as his comprehensive reports before and after the attack. Bohning, with the Herald since 1959, specializes in Latin American and Caribbean news. The other intrepid members of the journalistic amphibious force, for the record, were Ed Cody of the Washington Post, Morris Thompson of Newsday, Bernard Diederich and photographer Claude Urraca of Time, and British journalists Greg Chamberlain and Hugh O'Shaughnessy.

The Bob Considine Award for best newspaper or wire service interpretation of foreign affairs was earned in the Middle East. King Hussein of Jordan had rejected President Reagan's urging that he enter into talks with Israel on the sensitive issue of the West Bank. His decision, like so much news in the Middle East, was wrapped in mystery.

Karen Elliott House, assistant foreign editor of the Wall Street Journal, however, penetrated the royal palace in Amman. Over a period of weeks, in a series of exclusive interviews, she obtained the inside story behind the King's decision. Her two-part series also described the personal anguish of a monarch caught in a struggle for power, offered a rare close-up glimpse of a royal family in torment, and gave an insight into the political intrigue of the area.

Photography

All the 1983 photographic awards were won in combat in Lebanon.

The Robert Capa Gold Medal, for superlative photography requiring exceptional courage and enterprise, was won by Jim Nachtwey of Black Star for his pictures in Time Magazine.

Nachtwey followed at close range the fighting between the Lebanese army and Shiite Muslims in the Chouf Mountains of Lebanon, producing spectacular photographs under heavy fire. It wasn't his first such exploit. Earlier, he had accompanied a Honduras-based Contra raid into Nicaragua, again bringing the hazards of battle in pictures to the readers, while demonstrating the courage of the combat photographer.

The prize for best photographic reporting for magazines and books, which commemorates photographer Olivier Rebbot who died in combat, goes to Peter Jordan for his pictures in Time Magazine, also reproduced in *Life*.

Jordan covered the tragic bombing of Marine Headquarters in Beirut. Like his colleagues he moved in for the tight closeups, but outstanding among his pictures was one of an overall look at Marines, on a collapsed section of the building, looking down on the rescue of a trapped comrade.

The award for best photographic coverage for newspapers and wire services goes to Stan Grossfeld of the Boston Globe for his excellent continuing coverage of the military conflict in Lebanon.

Radio

The radio awards moved away from the Middle East, but not away from violence. The Ben Grauer Award for spot news reporting was won in Manila, where Philippine opposition leader Benigno Aquino, returning after three years of self-imposed exile in the U.S., stepped from the plane at Manila airport and was struck down by assassin's bullets.

ABC News Tokyo correspondent Jim Laurie, who had accompanied Aquino on the flight, vividly described the triumphant arrival, against the background cheers of the welcoming crowd—then, the sound of shots, and the cheers turned to anguished screams. The tragedy was poignantly underlined by an interview Laurie had taped with Aquino just before the plane landed, in which the leader spoke of his determination to return to his people even at the risk of being killed.

The Lowell Thomas radio award for interpretation moved back to Central America: to the complicated, confusing situation in that part of the world. In July, KYW Newsradio, Philadelphia, broadcast a day-long special report on Central America.

Editor-reporter Robert Kotowski skillfully balanced the pros and cons of U.S. policy and activities in El Salvador, Nicaragua, Honduras, and other countries. He offered listeners in-depth interviews with a remarkable variety of representatives of opposing viewpoints, ranging from U.S. government

Class 8

The Edward R. Murrow Award for best television interpretation or documentary on foreign affairs



"Inside the USSR."

Judges:

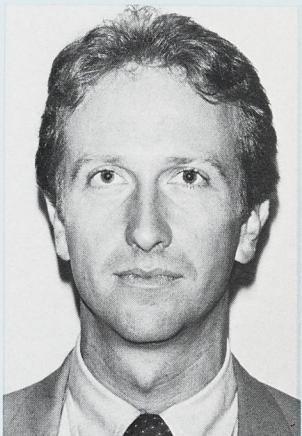
D. Z. Shefrin, Kim Gantz and Arthur Unger

Winner: Inside Story,

produced for Public Television by Press and The Public Project. Ned Schnurman, Executive Producer, Joseph M. Russin, Senior Producer, Hodding Carter, Chief Correspondent, Philip Burton, Producer of "Dateline: Moscow," Christopher Koch, Producer of

Class 9

The Mary Hemingway Award for best magazine reporting from abroad



Winner:

Christopher Dickey,
The New Republic, for
"Behind the Death Squads"

Citations:

Thomas L. Friedman, New York Times Magazine, for "Living with the Violence of Beirut"

Bernard Diederich, Ed Magnuson and William McWhirter, Time Magazine, for "D-Day in Grenada"

Class 10

The Hallie and Whit Burnett \$500 Award for best magazine story on foreign affairs



Winner:

Russell Watson & Others,
Newsweek, for "Nuclear War:
Can We Reduce the Risk?"

Citation:

Tad Szulc, Penthouse Magazine, for "El Salvador Is Spanish for Vietnam"

Judges:

Morton Frank, Bill Arthur, Al Balk, Bill Bundy and Pauline Frederick





Class 4 winner
Peter Jordan,
Time Magazine.

Class 3 winner
Jim Nachtwey,
Time Magazine.



Class 4A winner
Stan Grossfeld,
Boston Globe.

officials, businessmen and correspondents, to officials and ordinary citizens of the countries he examined. The result was an enlightening and objective analysis of an area of concern for Americans that has often been oversimplified and misunderstood.

Television

Only one of three television awards went to conventional network news operations in 1983; the others went to cable and PBS efforts.

The award for best spot news reporting was shared by Richard Threlkeld of ABC News and by CNN, the Cable News Network.

Threlkeld won for personal excellence in reporting from Beirut and Grenada. Writing and presenting news from the scene in a clear and comprehensive manner, he also showed an understanding of the complexities of the story and the issues in the context of world events. And he did this regularly under deadline, for ABC News "Nightline" and "World News Tonight."

The co-winner is CNN, Cable News Network, for excellence in its continuing coverage of foreign news, and for its timely, regular reporting of breaking stories, worldwide.

For TV interpretation or documentary on foreign affairs, the Edward R. Morrow Award goes to "Inside Story," a public television series on the press produced by the Press and Public Project for PBS. Specifically, it is awarded for two enterprising programs, "Dateline: Moscow," and "Inside the U.S.S.R."

In these programs correspondent Hodding Carter depicts the nature of reporting, including the limitations and difficulties facing journalists in the Soviet Union, and helps create better understanding of how news is covered in Moscow.

Magazines

For best magazine reporting from abroad, Christopher Dickey has won the Mary Hemingway Award for "Behind the Death Squads," published in the *New Republic*.

Dickey's story, with grace and clarity, provides a fresh, concise perspective on the persistent and complex phenomenon of organized assassination that has become central to the turmoil in Central America.

Eye-witness accounts and personal interviews skillfully interwoven with historical background deftly illuminate the dilemmas inherent in American policy makers' efforts to comprehend and cope with the volcanic social, economic and political forces at work.

Dickey, for the past three years Washington Post Mexico bureau chief covering the Caribbean, is now on an Edward R. Morrow fellowship.

For best magazine story on foreign affairs, the Hallie and Whit Burnett Award was earned by Russell Watson and others of *Newsweek*, for "Nuclear War: Can We Reduce the Risk?"

Class 11

Best cartoon on foreign affairs. With \$150 presented by the New York Daily News

Winner: Richard Locher,

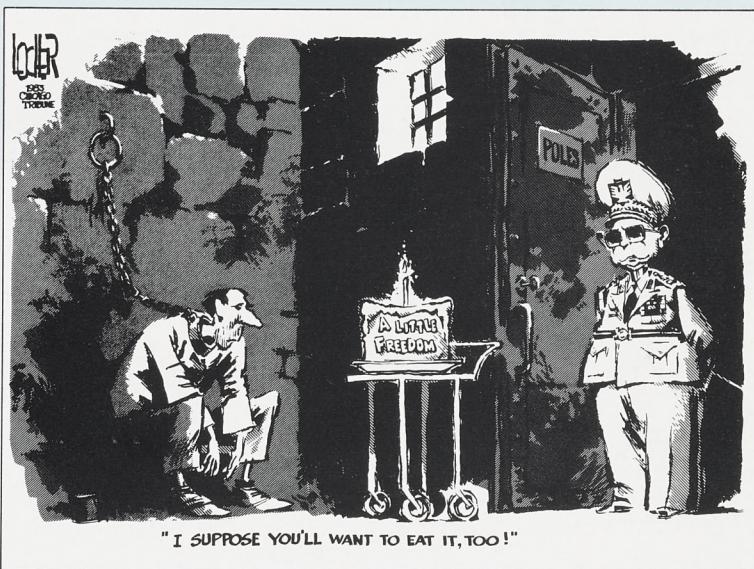
The Chicago Tribune

Citations:

Don Wright, The Miami News
Bob Gorrell, The Richmond News Leader

Judges:

Arnold Roth, Paul Rigby and Harvey Kurtzman



Class 12

Best business reporting from abroad in magazines and books

Winner:

Michael Cieply,

Forbes Magazine, for
"Sony's Profitless Prosperity"
Citations:
Clarence A. Robinson Jr.,
Aviation Week & Space Technology,
for "Special Report:
Middle East Aerospace"



Class 12

Best business news reporting from abroad in newspapers and wire services

Winner:

Paul A. Gigot,

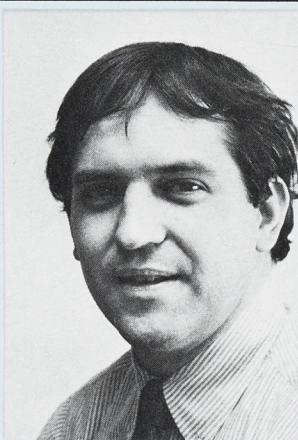
The Wall Street Journal,
for "Favored Friends"

Citation:

Lewis M. Simons, The San Jose California Mercury-News, for "In Japan, Smoke Gets in Your Eyes"

Judges:

George Bookman, Henry Gellermann,
Joseph Oppenheimer and Philip J. Keuper



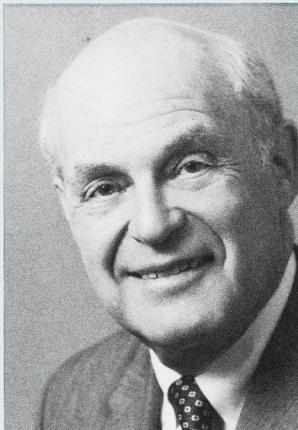
Class 13

Best economics news reporting from abroad in magazines and books

Winner:

Lewis H. Young
and others,

Business Week, for "Can Mitterand Remake France's Economy?"



In its December 5 issue, Newsweek turned to the U.S. deployment of intermediate range nuclear missiles in Europe, and the Soviets' immediate suspension of the Geneva arms talks. It not only reported these developments in depth, but took the occasion to present a broad-ranging discussion of nuclear policy issues and the problem of the spread of nuclear arms to additional countries. It clearly and concisely described the topic, and included an original and searching statement by former Defense Secretary Robert McNamara of 18 steps that might be taken to reduce the danger of nuclear war. The resulting report was of high distinction.

Cartoons

The best cartoon commentary on foreign affairs in 1983 was created by Richard Locher of the Chicago Tribune. It is the essence of an excellent cartoon that it speaks for itself: words can add nothing to its impact. Locher's work so speaks in these pages. The award, however, is not for one, but for a body of a cartoonist's work, and this year the distinguishing feature was "an extra stretch of the imagination."

Business and Economy

Business and economic coverage, which is assuming increasing prominence in the news, won four awards in 1983.

In the magazine and book class, Michael Cieply wins the award for best business news reporting for "Sony's Profitless Prosperity," in Forbes Magazine.

Cieply, of the Forbes West Coast bureau, was able to look behind the facade and worldwide reputation of Sony to spotlight signs of potential disturbance in one of Japan's leading enterprises. Moreover, in an insightful and enterprising example of business reporting, he was able to get Sony's famed chairman, Akio Morita, to discuss the company's problems with startling frankness.

In newspapers and wire services, Paul A. Gigot of the Wall Street Journal wins the award for best business reporting for "Favored Friends," a story that dug into the relationship of Philippine president Marcos and his wife Imelda and cronies in that nation's business community.

Gigot, who was then stationed in the Journal's Hong Kong bureau (he's now in New York), found and described rampant favoritism and corruption in these relationships. He identified these as major factors behind the opposition movement that, in the wake of its leader Benigno Aquino's assassination, threatens the long tenure of the Philippine president, who has long been regarded a key element in the stability of the Pacific basin.

On the economics front, the best reporting from abroad in magazines and books was done by Lewis H. Young and others, in Business Week, for "Can Mitterand Remake France's Economy?"

The articles, which ran early in 1983, gave a broad and deep look at where France stood 20 months after the Socialist leader came to office. The articles

don't firmly answer the question their title poses, and their overall tone is skeptical. They are well-written and the coverage is comprehensive, including interviews with Mitterand and other major government leaders, many private businessmen, and workers. This is an excellent example of what a magazine can do with a major topic by committing space, time and reporting talent to the job.

The award for best economic reporting in newspapers and wire services was won by Bob Gibson of the Los Angeles Times for "South Korea: 30 Year Rise from the Ashes."

Gibson provides a balanced assessment of South Korea's considerable economic achievement, without trying to gloss over the accompanying social problems. He writes in a fresh, personal style; his writing is "journalistic," in the best sense of the word. He makes good economic points in a way that newspaper readers can easily understand. After 20 years as Times foreign editor, Gibson now specializes in reporting the international economy.

Books

The Cornelius Ryan Award for the best book on foreign affairs was earned in 1983 by David K. Shipler for "Russia: Broken Idols, Solemn Dreams."

In this remarkable book, the former Moscow (now Jerusalem) bureau chief of the New York Times paints an intimate portrait of the Russian people. With an unusual grace of style and wealth of anecdotes from his personal experience, he penetrates the closely guarded veneer of Russian society and provides a compelling perspective of a people whose lives, he demonstrates, are linked more than ever to Americans'. A superb piece of journalism, the book tells much of the Soviet enigma that helps understand a vast and secretive superpower.

Humanity

The Madeline Dan Ross Award is given for international reporting in any medium which demonstrates a concern for humanity.

Writer Bob Adams and photographer James B. Forbes of the St. Louis Dispatch, in a series "Hunger: Time Bomb in Honduras," found the way to stop Communism in Central America. The way is to eliminate hunger and relieve human misery.

Visiting a hospital starvation ward, and trudging among tin-roofed shacks in muddy barrios, Adams wrote, and Forbes photographed, "The baby is a living skeleton—bones cloaked with human skin. Other children, looking impossibly thin, lie in cribs nearby... Their hunger-haunted faces are straight out of the photos of Auschwitz or Dachau." In a country overflowing with coffee plantations and banana trees, they found malnutrition nourishing Communism—or anything that will eliminate hunger, and urge action "before the time bomb explodes here as it already has done in El Salvador and elsewhere."

Class 13

Best economics news reporting from abroad for newspapers and wire services

Winner:

Bob Gibson,

The Los Angeles Times, for "South Korea: 30 Year Rise from the Ashes"

Judges:

Lindley Clark, Leif Olsen and William Wolman



Class 14

The Cornelius Ryan Award for the best book on foreign affairs

Winner:

David Shipler,

Times Books, for "Russia: Broken Idols, Solemn Dreams"

Citation:

Stanley Karnow, for "Vietnam: a History"

Judges:

Grace Shaw, Gerold Frank, Ralph Gardner, Kenneth Giniger, and Alex Liepa



Class 15

The Madeline Dane Ross Award for international reporting in any medium that demonstrates concern for humanity

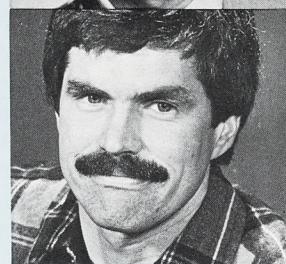
Winner:

Bob Adams and James B. Forbes,

The St. Louis Post-Dispatch, for "Hunger—Time Bomb in Honduras"

Citation:

Jill Smolowe and others of Newsweek, for "The Plight of the World's Youngest Workers"



Judges:

Julia Edwards, Ann Stringer, and Irvin Taubkin

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would be required to make a lifetime promise to submit to the government, before publication, any manuscript that might touch upon sensitive—even if unclassified—information. The purpose of this pre-publication review would be to provide the government with the opportunity to purge the manuscript of any classified information that it might contain.

In effect, NSDD-84 called for the creation of a licensing system for the writings of these former officials. They would be obligated to allow the government to approve or disapprove of their unpublished works. Publication without the required imprimatur could be grounds for a civil suit in which the government could seek, among other remedies, to confiscate the profits accruing to the author from the unlicensed work.

The issues raised by NSDD-84 are complex and difficult. The controversy over the Directive's pre-publication review requirements is the latest episode in a drama that has become increasingly familiar in recent decades: the clash between the demands of national security in a troubled world, and our traditional commitment to freedom of expression. But in another sense, the controversy harks back to a much older debate, one that contributes to our cultural heritage an immortal statement on the evils of censorship.

Three and a half centuries before NSDD-84, the British Parliament, angered by the publication of "many false, scandalous, seditious and libelous works," enacted its version of censorship by licensing. On June 14, 1643, the Lords and Commons decreed that "no Book...shall from henceforth be printed or put to sale, unless the same be first approved of and licensed" by censors designated by either House.

Today, this enactment is a footnote in history. But it inspired a reply which lives on. Its author was one of the greatest writers in our language, John Milton. His polemic, *Areopagitica*, was subtitled "A Speech for the Liberty of Unlicensed Printing." Published (in defiance of the licensing requirement) in 1644, it makes, I regret, timely reading in 1984. I wish that someone had sent the White House a copy before it issued NSDD-84.

One point of Milton's elegant argument is particularly relevant to the modern controversy over national security censorship. The men and women who would be most affected by NSDD-

84 are those in whom the nation has already reposed an extra degree of trust. They include some of our most talented and dedicated public servants. Their experience and wisdom, distilled in their writings, is an important national resource. If the lifetime obligation of pre-publication review discouraged them from sharing that experience and wisdom, our public discourse on a range of issues of the most vital importance—including defense policy, foreign relations, and science and technology—would be measurably impoverished. Thus, even if censorship helped to protect the secrets known to a few, it could inhibit the informed debate needed to educate the many.

John Milton didn't think that the licensing system imposed by Parliament would really succeed in suppressing the "defamation of Religion and government" which was its target. He also understood that the greatest evil of the system was not its futility, but "the manifest hurt it causes, in being first the greatest discouragement and affront that can be offered to learning, and to learned men."

Areopagitica suggests three reasons censorship acts "primely to the discouragement of all learning, and the stop of Truth." First is the cloud of suspicion that confronts the author when first he sets out to share his knowledge with the public. One whose writing will be read first by the censor tends to censor himself first. In the modern context we refer to this as a "chilling effect." A former official, who knows that his manuscript will be scrutinized by a government censor before it ever reaches the public, may well conclude that the game is simply not worth the candle.

Second, how does the public receive a book that has been approved by the censor? Angrily, thought Milton, who conjured up the image of an "acute reader," who, "upon the first sight of a pedantic license, will be ready with these like words to ding the book a quoit's distance from him: I hate a pupil teacher, I endure not an instructor that comes to me under the wardship of an over-seeing fist." The modern reader of a book by a former government official might not be quite so passionate, but he too would be inclined to take the government-approved text with a plentiful helping of salt. The system proposed by NSDD-84, under which the officials of one Administration would pass judgment on the writings of their predecessors, hardly inspires confidence that the censored work would fully and frankly

express the author's views.

Finally, Milton's imaginary reader asks of the censor, "who shall warrant me his judgment?" Milton knew that a censor's job is to censor. "His very office and his commission enjoins him to let nothing pass," Milton concludes, "but what is vulgarly received already."

Unlike the licensors of Milton's day, the pre-publication reviewers of the writings of former officials today would probably be relatively knowledgeable people. They would be given explicit instructions to restrict their blue pencil to classified material, putting aside considerations of policy disagreements or embarrassment to the agency involved. I am sure that they would do their best to censor fairly, impartially, and dispassionately.

But certainly we know that sometimes they would fail. We need only to consider the persistent and intractable problem of overclassification of government information to realize that the fine words and good intentions of those who set the standards are often insufficient to overcome the bureaucratic inertia of those who must apply them.

Of course, we must be careful not to draw parallels between Milton's time and our own that may not be justified. The excitement of the 17th century Parliament over heresies and libels strikes us as quaintly archaic today. Surely their draconian response—a national licensing system for all publications—is far different from the Administration's proposal to extend the system of pre-publication review, which is already in place for our intelligence agencies, to the holders of about 120,000 other positions within the federal government and among federal contractors.

Our concern is with a limited class of secrets; and even the most obdurate skeptic about the classification system would agree that upon some of these secrets our national security may depend. Perhaps within the framework of other measures—both more effective and less intrusive—for protecting these secrets, there is a place for pre-publication review requirements that last beyond the author's term of government service. But we must be sure that this obligation is limited to situations in which it is demonstrably needed to preserve the government's most sensitive secrets. Furthermore, the scope of the pre-publication review requirement must be clearly spelled out, so that our public servants need not forever fear that they speak or write on public affairs at their peril.

No society is immune from the virus

of censorship. But some systems have stronger antibodies than others. The struggle for "the liberty of unlicensed printing" raged for decades after the publication of *Areopagitica*, culminating in the guarantees of the First Amendment to our Constitution. By contrast, after Congress enacted an amendment proposed by Senator Thomas Eagleton and myself suspending for six months the implementation of the pre-publication review requirements of NSDD-84,

the Administration recalled those provisions of the Directive for further study.

John Milton wrote in *Areopagitica* that "when complaints are freely heard, deeply considered, and speedily reformed, then is the utmost bound of civil liberty attained that wise men look for." With respect to NSDD-84, that process of reform is underway. We would all do well to follow it closely.

any person of life, liberty or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws."

In a ruling 50 years ago, the U.S. Supreme Court invoked the Fourteenth Amendment to overturn a Louisiana tax on advertising sales of newspapers with circulations over 20,000. The court stated, "The evils to be presented are not the censorship of the press merely but any action of the government by... which it might prevent such free and general discussion of public matters as seem absolutely essential to prepare the people for an intelligent exercise of their rights as citizens."

However, the Court of Appeals of Maryland ruled against a similar advertising tax by the City of Baltimore years later on grounds that it could be construed as an infringement of press freedom—First Amendment rights. Clearly, the advertising tax does threaten the dissemination of information, whether the tax is perceived as abridging the press' freedom...or the public's right to know.

Unfortunately, when the tax is levied on the advertising agency and its advertiser rather than the media, courts and legislatures are not so quick to recognize the advertising tax as an abridgement of the public's right to know. This is a symptom of a problem which has those of us in the advertising industry very concerned—a lack of public and legislative understanding of the social and economic benefits of advertising.

That is why this spring, the American Association of Advertising Agencies, the national trade association representing the advertising agency business, will launch an advertising and public relations program to improve the public's perceptions of advertising. We do not expect any "quick fixes." But we hope to bring the public and legislators gradually to the point whereby they recognize that advertising is more than a sales call. It represents freedom of choice.

Censorship of taxation

by Leonard S. Matthews
President,
American Association of
Advertising Agencies

Outright censorship of the media has always posed the most serious threat to First Amendment rights. A more insidious restraint on freedom of information—and decidedly more typical of our American culture—is to levy a tax on it. This is precisely what certain states are threatening to do by instituting taxes on the sales of advertising space and time.

The actual specifics vary from state to state. In some cases, the tax law is written in such a way that only advertisers within the state are forced to pay tax on space and time purchased. Out-of-state advertisers ride free because of interstate commerce regulations.

In other states, a tax is being levied not on the advertiser but on the broadcasters', newspapers', and magazines' sale of media. Ultimately, this cost is passed on to the advertiser.

That states and municipalities even consider taxing advertising to fill their coffers shows a growing misunderstanding of what our forefathers had in mind when they drew up the Constitution. According to historians, Thomas Jefferson's intent in penning the First Amendment was not to protect the right of the press to print without restraint; instead, it was to safeguard the right of the individual to hear conflicting points of view so that he could make informed decisions.

What is advertising's role in a democratic society? It facilitates the transfer of goods and services between producers and consumers. Advertising is, simply, messages designed to inform consumers about the availability of products, their features, benefits, costs, and methods of distribution. Should this information be taxed merely because it seeks to produce a sales choice—

rather than a philosophical or political point of view?

Indeed without freedom—the freedom to buy and sell in the marketplace as well as the freedom of speech and of the press—nothing else really matters.

While some states have manifested a blatant disregard for the First Amendment implications in levying such a tax, they are listening to the economic arguments against it. Two studies independently performed in two different states have found that, on the average, \$1 of advertising produces \$33-\$34 in retail sales. It makes little sense for states to risk depressing advertising levels through taxation when stimulating advertising yields far greater tax benefits by generating increased sales.

Fortunately, the advertising industry has not had to fight this battle alone. The press associations of several states have championed persuasive lobbying campaigns. These groups deserve our recognition and applause for their efforts.

It is interesting to note that most of the Constitutional challenges which have been made against a tax on media advertising have usually invoked not the First, but the Fourteenth Amendment. It states, "No state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States, nor shall any state deprive

Censorship chorus from media groups

This statement was developed by a special committee of senior representatives of these organizations:

American Newspaper Publishers Association

American Society of Magazines Editors

American Society of Newspaper Editors

Associated Press Managing Editors

Are any of your relatives diabetic?

There's a chance you are, too!

If anyone in your family has a history of diabetes—even a distant relative—treat it as a symptom! It should prompt you to have regular checkups because you are at greater risk of having the disease. Especially if you are overweight and over 40.

What is diabetes?

Diabetes is a disorder in which the body cannot control the levels of sugar in the blood. Normally the hormone, insulin, regulates the blood sugar level. But if your body does not produce or effectively use its insulin, diabetes results. Diabetes can threaten heart, vision, brain, kidneys and life itself.

What can be done about diabetes?

Often people don't realize that most diabetes can be easily managed by simple programs that bring blood sugar under control. Many diabetics need only weight reduction, the right foods and moderate exercise. And, if these changes are not enough, a simple oral medication is all that may be needed. Today, even those who need insulin can be better and more comfortably managed by their doctors than ever before.

Who has diabetes?

You'd be surprised at how many of your friends and fellow workers are diabetic yet lead full lives with no outward signs of illness. Even many famous athletes and celebrities have diabetes. With current therapy diabetics can usually lead a normal life with simple and sensible medical programs.

What are the symptoms of diabetes?

Warning signs are either absent or very subtle. You may drink more water than normal or urinate more frequently. There may be slower healing of bruises, cuts and infections, or you may experience more fatigue and feel "not quite right."

How will you know if you have diabetes?

You won't. Your doctor will. And again, if there is diabetes in your family—including cousins, aunts, uncles, brothers and sisters and especially a parent—then you should have regular blood and urine checks by your doctor. It is a relatively simple diagnosis.

Only your doctor can prescribe treatment.

Follow your doctor's advice about diet, exercise and medication. Also, be aware that you have a support system, which we call...

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National Association of Broadcasters
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Reporters Committee for Freedom
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The Associated Press
United Press International

Because a free society's press is not—and should not be—monolithic, no statement can ever be said to be "the position" of "the press." What follows is the carefully considered work of the experienced individuals serving on a special committee from the above organizations, formed after the Government denied to the public independent press reports about U.S. military operations in Grenada.

I. We Strongly Believe That:

First, the highest civilian and military officers of the Government should reaffirm the historic principle that American journalists, print and broadcast, with their professional equipment should be present at U.S. military operations. And the news media should reaffirm their recognition of the importance of U.S. military mission security and troop safety. When essential, both groups can agree on coverage conditions which satisfy safety and security imperatives while, in keeping with the spirit of the First Amendment, permitting independent reporting to the citizens of our free and open society, to whom our Government ultimately is accountable.

Second, the highest civilian and military officers of the U.S. Government should reaffirm that military plans should include planning for press access, in keeping with past traditions. The expertise of Government public affairs officers during the planning of the recent Grenada military operations could have met the interests both of the military and the press, to everyone's benefit.

Third, the military study group appointed by Gen. John Vessey, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and headed by retired Maj. Gen. Winant Sidle,

which is to make recommendations to the Government about media-military cooperation, should closely consider the above two points. The study group also should consult with military operations experts and make recommendations on how to assure both mission security-troop safety and prompt media access.

Fourth, appropriate committees of the Congress should hold hearings to: develop the historic record of media-military relations more fully, including accumulation of relevant documents; develop the facts of the Government's handling of media access in Grenada more fully, and demonstrate how wise leaders can satisfy always the joint imperatives of effective military operations and of a timely flow to a free citizenry by a free press of independently obtained information.

II. We Believe These Things Because:

Since the Revolutionary War, American journalists traditionally have been allowed to accompany American troops on military operations, even when those actions depended upon the element of surprise.

Such access has furthered the vital interest of the public in having independent accounts of the actions of our uniformed men and women in combat, beyond those reports issued by Government officials.

Mission security and troop safety interests have been protected—when essential—by limiting the number of journalists accompanying the troops, by voluntary reporting restraints, by limited censorship of information that might aid the enemy or by delay in the filing of dispatches; but not by exclusion of all journalists. Exclusion of journalists never has been deemed appropriate except in small, clearly covert, intelligence or commando-type hit-and-run operations.

We recognize the presence of two requirements: the requirement that the Government conduct effective military

operations and the requirement that the public, via a free press, be independently informed about the actions of its Government. Accommodations, representing good faith cooperation between the Government and the media, have wisely avoided a direct clash in the courts or in the Congress between these two imperatives.

Unfortunately, such historic accommodations were neither sought nor achieved by the Government during the recent Grenada operations. Rather than allowing a small pool of journalists to accompany American forces during the initial phases of an operation involving several thousand U.S. military personnel, the Government excluded the American media from the island for more than two days. Thus, during the crucial, early days of the operation; when public concern and interest was most intense, the public was denied an independent source of information. The Government's shifting justifications for this unprecedented exclusion—the need for surprise, the safety of journalists, too many journalists or danger to the troops—either were unfounded or could have been met by proper planning and execution of traditional news-coverage practices.

III. In Conclusion

We believe prompt media access to U.S. military operations can and should be allowed by the Government. And we strongly urge Government officials to assure that historic free press reporting to the American public about military activities will be a planned part of future operations under conditions which also assure mission security and troop safety.

Our society remains healthy and free primarily because our public has an independent source of information about its Government. Preservation of this principle is essential to the proper functioning of our constitutional democracy and to our national well-being. Without this open flow of information, our system of self-government would not work.

Censorship by manipulation

by Lars-Erik Nelson
Chief Washington Correspondent,
Daily News/New York

At the Camp David conference in September 1978, when President Carter, Egyptian President Anwar Sadat and Israeli Prime Minister Menachem

Begin were wrangling toward a Middle East peace agreement, a newsmagazine photographer protested loudly and eloquently about the denial of her First Amendment rights.

No reporters were allowed at Camp David—but they did not know enough to make the protest that Susan McIlhenny

of Newsweek did. The writing press was grumbly content to rely on briefings given in the American Legion Hall in Thurmont, Md. On the basis of these briefings, the reporters wrote their stories.

No photographers were allowed at Camp David either. Instead, the White

House distributed photographs of the three leaders smiling or relaxing, and their negotiators hard at work over the bargaining table. Millions of Americans saw these pictures in their newspapers and magazines and thought nothing more about them.

It was this that McIlhenny protested. A lot of the rest of us, the pencil press, had a hard time understanding her, but she was right. Her point was that the world knew that it was learning each day about Camp David through the filter of reporters, who could pick and choose among the official statements. The reporters could decide what to stress, what to play down, what nuance to look for. The world did not realize that the happy, hardworking pictures it was seeing were censored. "You wouldn't print a White House handout as if it were the whole truth," McIlhenny argued. "Why are you willing to print their pictures?"

McIlhenny's complaint illustrates the subtleties of government infringements on the public's right to know. While public outrage focuses on the Reagan administration's clumsy attempts to muzzle government employees with binding lifetime secrecy agreements or to chase down the source of meaningless leaks, there is a greater threat to freedom of the press: The government's reaction to and manipulation of the new technologies of broadcasting.

Probably nothing in recent years shocked newspeople more than the triple blow of being lied to about the invasion of Grenada, being denied access to the scene and then finding out that the American public overwhelmingly approved the government's action.

Given the choice between trusting their government or trusting the press, the public will often choose the government. There's no accounting for taste. But in Grenada, the public was not even given the choice—and it didn't seem to mind.

The reasons for that public antipathy need not be gone into here. We have all done enough soul-searching about our more boorish brethren, thrusting microphones into the faces of weeping tragedy victims. In the good old days of newspaper reporting, nobody knew that the picture of the dead child was obtained by knocking on the grieving parents' door at 6 a.m. Now, that door knock is televised live and in color. All of a sudden we have become sensation seekers who will do anything for a story. We prefer to criticize our government rather than trust it. We are disloyal.

This has created a dangerous climate

in which an unscrupulous administration could, with public approval, further restrict the free operation of the press. The Reagan administration—conservatives who at times act as if they have never held governmental power—is more skeptical toward the press, generally populated by liberals, than Democratic administrations tend to be. But, with two exceptions, it has not been more sinister. Many of the actions it has taken could just as easily been taken by a liberal Democrat trying to run an orderly administration.

The two exceptions—both now stalled by public and Congressional out-

in our own systems—are done deliberately, at the highest authority, to generate public support for defense spending.

The truly serious leaks—from the CIA and the National Security Agency—are already policed adequately under the espionage laws. What the Reagan administration was trying to stop were the merely embarrassing disclosures of disarray in the bureaucracy.

Less noticed have been these actions by the administration:

- It has closed down the CIA as a routine source for reporters. Its logic is that an intelligence agency has no business giving out public information.



At signing of peace treaty at the White House, March 26, 1979: Sadat, Carter, Begin.

cries—were (a) an order to bind more than 100,000 government officials with lifelong censorship agreements that would forbid them from writing about national security information they picked up on the job and (b) an order prescribing discipline for any official who refused to take a lie-detector test during government investigations of leaks.

Both measures received broad publicity—and Secretary of State Schultz even threatened to resign rather than be subjected to a lie-detector investigation over a leak relating to U.S. policy in Lebanon. Chasing down leaks is an old fruitless pastime. The worst leaks tend to come from the highest officials, who are above punishment. And many of the most seemingly sensitive stories—about new Soviet weapons systems, or flaws

- It has sent security agents out to check possible sources of innocuous leaks—wasting the time of the security agents and annoying the sources. This chills government officials who deal with the press and makes them think twice about returning press telephone calls.
- It has preferred to deal with television—and go over the heads of the writing press—to reach the public. More and more, and particularly on major news events, print reporters are reduced to straining to hear what some high level official is saying into a television microphone. Why should a Secretary of Defense hold a news conference when he can appear on *Meet the Press*?
- If it has to deal with the written press,

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diet is a key
to good
health, but...**



**what about
the millions of
food-faddists,
daffy-dieters,
junk-food kids
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dash execs?**



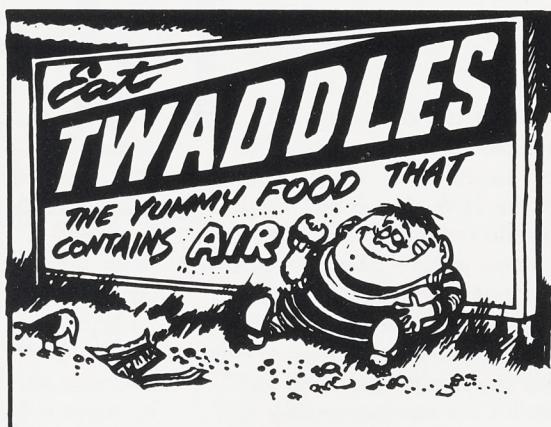
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it talks to only a few outlets—the Washington Post and New York Times and, at the Pentagon, Aviation Week. Its logic, is that the rest of us will eventually get the story from our competition. Thus, it does not return telephone calls to the "secondary" publications. Stupid, yes, but not uniquely stupid.

- Its press policies can be no better than its substantive policies. It is hard for a spokesman to be open and forthcoming on the Middle East, for example, when there is no clear Middle East policy. It is hard to be frank on the economy when top officials fight openly about the meaning of federal deficits.
- It has circled the wagons, as have other administrations before it, in reaction against the press' fascination with the personal feuding that goes on in any government. The written press, no longer holding a monopoly on reportage of public events, has to go where TV cameras cannot go—into the backrooms for behind-the-scenes accounts of who called Cap Weinberger what name when he defended which military program. The administration hates these stories and

has tried to crack down on the officials who give them.

- It is hampered, like other recent administrations, by the sheer size of the press corps. No longer can a Secretary of State call the "regulars" up for quiet drinks on a Friday afternoon and discuss the nation's foreign strategies. When Dean Rusk did that, calling in the "regulars" meant about a dozen people. Today it would be closer to 100. No longer can a President summon the White House "regulars" into the Oval Office for an off-the-record chat, as Franklin Roosevelt did. Today, the regulars wouldn't fit into the room. And there would be screaming and shouting and filing lawsuits if any were excluded.
- Finally, it has to contend with new broadcast technologies that can bring the slightest slip of the tongue, the merest stumble of policy and the horror of war instantly into 40 million American households. When the reporters who accompanied Adm. Dewey to Manila Bay in 1898 wrote their stories, it took them eight days to get to Hong Kong and another 12 hours to telegraph the news home. On Grenada, a minicam crew and

satellite technology could have broadcast the invasion live into Fidel Castro's living room. It's hard to blame a military commander for not wanting that crew to accompany his men.

It is easy to be critical of the Reagan administration. It does not really understand the press, and it does not really like the press. It has responded clumsily at times. But it has done nothing to compare with Richard Nixon's "plumbers" operation. It has not, so far as is known, tapped the telephones of reporters.

The greatest threats to press freedom are logistical rather than political. We are hamstrung by our own bulk and numbers. No longer is a reporter a lone, underfed, unobtrusive, hollow-eyed man with a pad and pencil. Now he or she has a cameraman, a soundman and a field producer. And there are hundreds of them on every big story, telephoning officials—and getting those calls returned—interviewing men in the street, overwhelming any event to the point where the press overwhelms the story rather than reporting it. For us hollow-eyed men with pencils, that's the real problem.

Censorship takes many forms

by Jack Payton
International Editor
United Press International

WASHINGTON—There is no government in the world that does not try to control the information reaching its citizens or the international public. Many do so for reasons of "national security." Others exercise censorship to protect entrenched political elites, bureaucracies or a particular view of public morality and culture.

Whatever the reason, governments historically have embraced the principle that information is a commodity that requires regulation.

The Soviet Union exercises its control over information through a state censorship bureaucracy estimated to have 70,000 employees. Some Latin American and Asian regimes have enforced state information policy by arresting opposition journalists or causing dissidents to "disappear."

Nations such as Libya and Albania restrict information by severely limiting entry by foreign journalists as well as exercising total control over the domestic

media.

Britain enforces its Official Secrets Act by warning newspapers and television away from sensitive stories with a formal system known as "D-Notices." Correspondents based in Israel must sign an agreement promising to abide by military censorship or face criminal penalties.

The Reagan administration restricted information on the U.S.-led invasion of Grenada last fall by barring American reporters from the landing operations. The reason given at the time was that the safety of the reporters could not be guaranteed.

Most American correspondents working in war zones abroad have had to deal with censorship. In Israel, this usually means submitting stories dealing with military topics to a government censor for review prior to publication or transmission out of the country. Especially severe censorship is reserved for Palestinian publications on the Israeli-occupied West Bank. Beirut correspondents who write stories that offend one faction or another in Lebanon's civil war have received telephoned death threats.

UPI correspondents working in El Salvador also have received death threats from anonymous telephone callers. The threats, and the continued activities of El Salvador's ultra-rightwing "death squads," make every reporter think twice before writing a story.

Foreign correspondents working in the Soviet Union are closely monitored. Office and home telephones are tapped. The correspondents are followed routinely, their meetings with Soviet citizens noted. Frequent contact between reporters and political dissidents often result in stricter control of the dissident's movements and, as in the case of dissident physicist Andrei Sakharov, enforced exile.

Similar monitoring of correspondents takes place in Eastern Europe and China. Reporters in Peking rarely are able to have contacts with ordinary Chinese and are forced to rely for information on the state news media or officials trained to deal with foreigners.

Reporters who establish what the government considers excessively close contacts with dissidents can have their accreditation revoked and be forced to

leave the country.

UPI correspondent Ruth Gruber was forced to leave Warsaw on two days notice in January of last year after her extensive contacts within Poland's Solidarity trade union movement resulted in a series of stories that irritated the government.

In Vietnam, the last non-party newspaper was suppressed in 1981. Political dissidents are sent to government "re-education camps" that ensure ideological orthodoxy.

Official censorship in Eastern Europe

and the Soviet Union has given rise to underground publications informally known as "Samizdat." Such unofficial publications were especially widespread in Poland, where some Samizdat pamphlets had circulations of more than 20,000 copies.

Most nations use censorship in one form or another to protect a particular view of public morality. South Africa also uses censorship to maintain its strict system of racial segregation known as apartheid. Indonesia has banned publications in Chinese, the language of 3

million of the nation's 200 million inhabitants.

Democracies also use official censorship for political purposes as well as national security. Britain, whose Official Secrets Act is one of the toughest security laws among the Western democracies, has embargoed all government position papers dealing with its claim to the Falkland Islands off the coast of Argentina. Several government papers are known to express doubts about Britain's claim to the islands.

The less you know the better

by Anthony T. Podesta
Executive Director
People for the American Way

The past few years have been productive ones for America's censors.

From the highest levels of government to local communities and schools across America, censorship has become a frightening reality. In whatever form it takes—imposing pre-publication review on former government officials, blacklisting USIA speakers, denying visas to foreign speakers, weakening the Freedom of Information Act, prohibiting press access to the Grenada invasion, "protecting" students from controversial books, courses, and ideas, eliminating textbook coverage of controversial events in American history—the effects of censorship are the same: It stifles the debate and diversity of discussion that traditionally have been the core of our democracy.

The government's efforts to control information and ideas are, according to government spokespersons, in the best interests of the country. The prevailing attitude: The less everybody knows, the better.

Administration officials explained that press coverage of the Grenada invasion was prohibited for fear that the media weren't "on our side." General Maxwell Taylor elaborated the same attitude earlier this year when he said: "I believe strongly that people have a right to know what their forces are doing but not today, not tomorrow, but at the appropriate time." Taylor added that not only is timing crucial to public understanding, but how the news is presented is an important ingredient as

well: "If they [the people] get the information in a block, they might well know what to do with it, but when they get it piecemeal, there's just confusion."

In other words: It's dangerous for people to be left to the task of thinking and sorting out things for themselves; they might come to conclusions different from those sanctioned by the government.

The same attitude prevails among those who seek to censor ideas and information from the nation's schools. Students, the censors argue, shouldn't be encouraged to arrive at their own conclusions. Professional Texas censor Norma Gabler has explained the philosophy succinctly: "An idea will never do anyone as much good as a fact... The problem with too many books is that they leave students to make up their own minds about things."

In other words: Students should be taught what to think rather than how. They shouldn't be taught the lessons—and the traditional values—that are learned from lively discussion, dissent, and debate.

Last year, for example, in 48 of the 50 states, there were documented attempts to remove a wide variety of library books, textbooks, and courses from the public schools. In a majority of the incidents, the censors' ire was provoked because the "questionable" material promoted student discussion and understanding of ideas and competing philosophies.

Library books—such as *The Diary of Anne Frank*, *The Grapes of Wrath*, *Of Mice and Men*, *The Catcher in the Rye*, *To Kill a Mockingbird*—increasingly are declared unsuitable because they are

"sordid," "dreary," "depressing," or "just plain filthy." The problem is that such books contain ideas that the censors say are "anti-American" or "un-Christian."

Textbooks that probe searing social problems also are on the hit lists of the censors. And because such textbooks are economic liabilities, publishers consistently have begun to shy away from text materials that the censors might label "too controversial." The result: textbooks that gloss over—or ignore—controversial periods in American and world history, literature texts that have been purged of controversial stories such as Shirley Jackson's classic, "The Lottery," sanitized dictionaries that have been cleansed of "offensive" words, and science and biology texts that contain alarmingly little mention of the theory of evolution. (In 1981, one publisher deleted the word "evolution" from the company's only high school biology text. The reason for the omission: "to avoid the publicity that would surround a controversy.")

Controversy, it seems, has become a threat to the censors' view of the American way of life.

If the censors continue to succeed, whether at the national level or in the local schools, our nation will cease to know—and ultimately forget—the value of our democratic traditions of diversity, dissent and debate. Those who believe in the freedoms guaranteed by the First Amendment and the Bill of Rights would do well to spread the word: Democracy is a risky business. Without controversy and confrontation and open and free debate, there is no way it can survive.

Serving the truth

These are trying times for the news media, taking flak from so many directions. Fortunately, newsmen have a ready answer for their critics, a set of principles which, if followed, would assure them a good press. It's the code of ethics of the Society of Professional Journalists, Sigma Delta Chi. Some excerpts:

Responsibility: *The public's right to know of events of public importance and interest is the overriding mission of the mass media. The purpose of distributing news and enlightened opinion is to serve the general welfare. Journalists who use their professional status as representatives of the public for selfish or other unworthy motives violate a high trust.*

Accuracy and objectivity: *Good faith with the public is the foundation of all worthy journalism.*

1. *Truth is our ultimate goal.*
2. *Objectivity in reporting the news is another goal, which serves as the mark of an experienced professional. It is a standard of performance toward which we strive. We honor those who achieve it.*
3. *There is no excuse for inaccuracies or lack of thoroughness.*

4. *Newspaper headlines should be fully warranted by the contents of the articles they accompany. Photographs and telecasts should give an accurate picture of an event and not highlight a minor incident out of context.*

5. *Sound practice makes clear distinction between news reports and expressions of opinion. News reports should be free of opinion or bias and represent all sides of an issue.*

6. *Partisanship in editorial comment which knowingly departs from the truth vio-*

lates the spirit of American journalism.

7. *Journalists recognize their responsibility for offering informed analysis, comment, and editorial opinion on public events and issues. They accept the obligation to present such material by individuals whose competence, experience, and judgment qualify them for it.*

8. *Special articles or presentations devoted to advocacy or the writer's own conclusions and interpretations should be labeled as such.*

Fair play: *Journalists at all times will show respect for the dignity, privacy, rights, and well-being of people encountered in the course of gathering and presenting the news.*

1. *The news media should not communicate unofficial charges affecting reputation or moral character without giving the accused a chance to reply.*

2. *The news media must guard against invading a person's right to privacy.*

3. *The media should not pander to morbid curiosity about details of vice and crime.*

4. *It is the duty of news media to make prompt and complete corrections of their errors.*

5. *Journalists should be accountable to the public for their reports and the public should be encouraged to voice its grievances against the media. Open dialogue with our readers, viewers, and listeners should be fostered.*

As a company, we believe a free and vigorous press is not just the province of practicing journalists; it belongs to all of us. By encouraging the free flow of diverse opinions, it can preserve the trust and respect of the public it serves and provide the informational base for sound democratic decision-making.

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Voices from Reagan's sanctum

Letters to spokesmen for President Reagan on censorship went unanswered. The alternative was to use comments they made to the press or to public groups.

David R. Gergen, who left the Reagan administration, after three years as director of communications, in interview with Steven R. Weisman and Francis X. Clines, of The New York Times, said:

"It's [television] the most powerful weapon in politics, but it can undermine you if you use it badly. This President is terribly comfortable with the camera, and he understands that you can't come on too strongly. His amiability and softness as an individual makes him a much more attractive figure in television than someone who is more cynical or hardbitten....

"There's been a great deal of interest in this Administration [in television] because that's where the voters are. The vast majority of people receive most of their information through television. That's unfortunate, but it is true....

"Television viewers are not worse informed than visitors were 40 years ago. But for all the information they're bombarded with, they should be better informed. They also tend to get a lot of information about campaigns from advertising and they don't differentiate between the acts and the news shows....

"I'm a great believer in radio. The President has used his Saturday radio speech effectively to get a story out over the weekend at a time where there's little news. Also it's not an intrusive medium like television. As for print, I've learned that it's much more influential than I first understood. The print reporters help set the agenda for television, editorial writers around the country, local newspapers.

"The concern about the disclosure of classified information is legitimate. The leaks seem to get worse decade by decade. At the same time, it's very important to maintain the commitment to open government. There are competing interests, and those who deal only with security issues sometimes want to go to almost any length to stop the disclosures. Those concerned about accountability don't always appreciate the security needs. You have to strike a reasonable balance. I've been on the losing end of some of those battles."

In a Washington debate sponsored by a committee of the American Bar Association, Floyd Abrams, a prominent First Amendment lawyer, who has represented news organizations against the government, clashed with Richard K. Willard, of the Justice Department, who has been one of the leading spokesmen for the Reagan's position on secrecy programs.

Mr. Abrams said: "The difference between the policies of this Administration and its predecessors of both parties are fundamental, not peripheral.

"Indeed, the Administration's fixation, as I view it, on national security at the expense of freedom of expression is such that it seems virtually always to require the latter claims to be overdone, even when those claims are at their greatest and when the needs of national security are at their least compelling."

Mr. Willard, in defending the Administration proposal for lifelong censorship agreements for many thousands of officials, said:

"We face adversaries who have military power greater than any enemy this country has ever faced in time of war. We live with the ever-present threat of nuclear war, which can destroy the world as we know it. We live with the even more insidious threat of international terrorism."

Report from the book banning front

by Jerry Resnick

One of the nation's leading biology teachers, is Executive Assistant to the Superintendent of Brooklyn High Schools for the New York City Board of Education.

As a parent, an educator, and an author I am very concerned with the reading material of our children. Unfortunately, decisions affecting what children read in our schools have become a preoccupation, almost an obsession, with a growing number of organizations in this country today. At one time, decisions about textbook selection and curriculum offerings were within the sole domain of educators.



An ape in society pokes fun at Darwin's theory of evolution.

Today there are a number of lobby groups who would like to alter the methodology of school decision-making and dictate what textbooks and novels shall appear in public libraries and in the classrooms of this nation.

What do Mel and Norma Gabler's Textbook Adoption Committee, Rev. Jerry Falwell's Moral Majority, and Phyllis Schaffly's Eagle Forum have in common? Censorship! Their goal is to cleanse the schools of courses, books, and materials that stimulate independent thinking and classroom discussion of conflicting ideas. And whether you are the author of a play, novel, children's book, or textbook, you have been, are, or certainly will be affected by the "cancer" of censorship.

I first became aware of the ugly fact of censorship in 1978. I was one of four authors of the New York State Regents Biology Syllabus. A lobby group was asking for equal time to introduce creationism into the unit of evolution. The scientific community evaluated the creationism material and found that it was religious in nature and did not belong in a science course. However, in its attempt to censor this material, this particular lobby group successfully delayed the publication of the syllabus until 1982. And this is just one battle in a national war. The word "evolution" has suddenly become taboo. Textbooks have begun to use such phrases as "descent with modification" and "unity and di-



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where his column on finance and politics has
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every turn of the market. The Las Vegas Sun
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The Editor is H. M. Greenup. The Las Vegas
Sun has acquired many loyal subscribers in
numerous states, in addition to Nevada as the
result of carrying the Johannes Steel column.

Both, Editor "Hank" Greenup and Johannes
Steel are long time members of the Overseas
Press Club.

versity," while shying away from "evolution." In fact, a recent study showed that most biology textbooks have reduced the number of words in their chapters on evolution!

During this time I myself was involved in writing a biology text. I, too, was confronted by a marketing manager and an editor, who asked me to re-examine the evolution chapter. Should we use the chapter heading, "Unity and Diversity"? How could we make this chapter less offensive to the textbook adoption states? The frightening aspect of this experience was that I was no longer in control. As an author, I was a mere pawn on a chessboard. The publisher "owned" the manuscript. My situation was resolved satisfactorily, but other authors are not always so fortunate. In 1981, for instance, another textbook publisher released a biology textbook that omitted the words "evolution" and "Darwin." Imagine discussing the short story and not mentioning the name of Poe or American drama and never referring to O'Neill?

Unfortunately, censorship doesn't end with evolution. Sex education, liberal views, stereotyping, introducing minorities, and a host of other issues have been labeled as being detrimental to the health and welfare of children. I have been told that the "teaching of evolution [and other liberal views] leads to prostitution"! I have also been told that "Until textbooks are changed, there is no possibility that crime, violence, venereal disease, and abortion rates will decrease."

The examples are endless. Unfortunately, publishers listen and community groups (and parents) are easily swayed by this form of mob psychology. The result often is a self-imposed censorship performed by the publisher and/or author. We must remember that publishers are in the business to sell books to make money. Most of you reading this article may not be affected by textbook adoption policies. As with a rose, however, an author by any other name is still an author. If the trend continues, all authors will be affected by the malignancy of censorship.

In effect, these various pressure groups are dictating to publishers and controlling what they sell. As one textbook publishing executive said on national television last year, "We will publish what people will buy." And when questioned if he were willing to publish science books with non-science material in them, this executive simply repeated his previous comment.

But the important question is where

does Jane or John Q. Author go when the editor has the final say, and that say is diametrically opposed to the philosophy of the author? What does the author do when the publisher says that "You will write the material my way"? What do you do if your publishing company tells you that your material is offensive because you mentioned the word "abortion," or used the word "damn," or because you espoused certain values that a particular segment of the population doesn't like? How do you appease Moral Majority, your publisher, and your sense of values—all at the same time? How do you look at yourself in the mirror the morning after the evening that you wrote an article, a page of a novel, a line of poetry, or an act in a play that you find offensive but that your publisher has compelled you to write (or have edited) because it will sell?

I am here today because I believe that the Authors Guild must take a stronger stand on this issue and must demonstrate a higher visibility than it has done to date. I had heard about the Authors Guild. To be quite candid, however, what it did and what it could do for me as an author were two unknown quantities to me. I was fortunate in my struggles with the pressures of a powerful publishing industry. But

how many were less fortunate? How many succumb to the pressures?

Over the past five years, attempts have been made successfully to remove, alter, and restrict reading materials at an alarming rate. In the 1977-78 school year, the figure reported was higher than at any other time in the previous twenty-five years. Three years later that number increased by 300 percent!

The Greek people compared the spread of a particular disease to the movements of a crab. In Greek the word for "crab" is "cancer." The cancer of literary censorship is rampant in our society. I am only one individual speaking for many. I am suggesting that we sit down and discuss ways that we can actively help fellow authors avoid the miseries and pressures that others of us have already suffered. We must act to halt the spread of this disease before we are told that we must edit and rewrite the greatest book of all—the Bible! After all, doesn't the Bible contain sex and evolution and doesn't the Bible stereotype man and woman? Who amongst you has the strength to stand up and say, "Enough!" Enough, my friends, before it is too late.

—(excerpted from
Author Guild Bulletin)

OPC protests free press violations abroad

Reported by OPC
Freedom of Press Committee,
Norman A. Schorr,
Co-chairman

Regrettably, the persecution of the press is rampant in many parts of the world.

To carry out the Club's concern about those free press violations, the OPC Freedom of the Press Committee focuses its attention on the intimidation, arrests, imprisonment, torture, other physical abuse, and other severe restrictions to which journalists outside the U.S. are subjected.

The conventional wisdom among international human rights organizations is that public attention and demonstrations of concern do help improve the conditions of the imprisoned. This happens in seemingly small ways—such as improvement in food or health care, or access to family or legal counsel—or in important ways, such as release from

prison to house arrest, or even a fair trial; and in some cases, the ultimate goal of total release and the ability to go back to work.

The OPC Committee protests persecution of the press and tries to help its victims through:

1. Cables and other communications to the heads of state and justice departments in the countries where the alleged free press violations take place.
2. Communications to the appropriate desks of the U.S. State Department, to the offending country's ambassador in Washington, and to the U.S. ambassador of the country involved.
3. News releases to the general press.
4. Cooperation with U.S. news offices of foreign newspapers involved.
5. Stories in the OPC Bulletin and publications of other press organizations.

A good deal of this work is conducted in association with other organizations, principally The Committee to

Protect Journalists, and Amnesty International.

Using some of the techniques described, the committee has in the past few years acted/spoken out in cases including:

- Alcibiades Gonzalez, a leading journalist for the newspaper *ABC Color* in Paraguay. He was arrested most recently for articles exposing corruption among Paraguay's ruling Colorado party officials and other work on Paraguayan political figures in exile. He had been arrested twice previously, released each time after international protests.
- Irshad Rao, editor of the banned Pakistani weekly newspaper *Al Fatah*, had been arrested for articles exposing corruption.
- Juan Pablo Cardenas, director of the left-of-center journal, *Analisis*, after publication of a Sept. 13-17 issue featuring an interview with Pedro Felipe Ramirez, a leader of the Christian Left and a member of former President Allende's cabinet.
- Aldo Zuccolillo, editor of the newspaper *ABC Color* in Paraguay, who was being held in preventive detention for alleged "contempt of judicial authority." His newspaper published an article that criticized the President of the Supreme Court of Justice and the judicial system.
- Col. Q. N. Zaman, editor of the Bangladesh newsweekly, *Naya Padadhan*. Zaman was charged with writing critically about the secret trial and execution in 1981 of 31 army officers implicated in the trial of President Ziaur Rahman.
- Charles Ngakula, *Veritas News Agency*, South Africa
- Juan Andres Cardoza, of *La Tribuna*, Paraguay
- Herriando Sevilla, of *Hoy*, Paraguay
- Felix Ruiz, Paraguayan journalist
- Shim Song-mu, reporter for S. Korean newspaper, *Dong-A Ilbo*.
- Lee Kyung-il, foreign news editor, *Shinmun*, S. Korea
- Park Oo-chung, city reporter, *Shinmun*, S. Korea
- Sun Kong-kyu, research dept. head, S. Korea
- Oscar Leonel Cordova (*Nuevo Mundo radio*) and Manuel Rene Polamo Salguero, (reporter, newspaper *Prensa Libra*) two Guatemalan journalists who disappeared.
- Zwelakhe Sisulu, (news editor, *Sunday Post*, Transvaal) and Marimuthu Subramoney (news editor, *Post*, *Natal*), two black S. African journalists who were banned from enter-

ing a newspaper office for three years, or to have anything printed.

It is very difficult to learn exactly what happens in most cases.

However, in some cases, the Committee hears about the release or improvement in conditions of prisoners it has tried to help, and these situations are very gratifying.

For example, when the Bangladesh editor, Q. N. Zaman, was released from prison we received a telephone call from the Bangladesh desk at the U.S. State Dept., bringing us the news from the U.S. ambassador in that country whom we had asked to intervene.

Also, we learned that Irshad Rao had been released in Pakistan, after 2½ years of detention, to be treated for serious neurological problems developed in prison; Zwelakhe Sisulu, Marimuthu Subramoney and other South African journalists were released from banning orders in July, 1983; Israel Weisz Weinberger, a reporter in Uruguay, one of the first press prisoners this FOP Committee tried to help, has been released; Charles Ngakula was released from detention in South Africa in late 1983.

In February, 1984, we received this airletter from the Council of Unions of South Africa, after OPC had protested the detention of some of its journalist-members.

"It is heartwarming to know that others are just as concerned about our detained brothers."

"We have sent copies of your letter to the family of the detainees and also to the union."

"In this dark hour of uncertainty and fear, your letter of protest came to us as a light of hope."

Piroshaw Camay, General Secretary Radio Cooperativa in Chile was permitted to resume news broadcasts, after protests by world press organizations, including OPC.

In Paraguay, Alcibiades Gonzalez Delvalle has resumed writing his column for *ABC Color* after being released from detention on Dec. 7, 1983.

In December, 1982, a few days after the FOP Committee (in concert with other press organizations) protested to President Marcos when editors of the Philippine paper, *We Forum*, were sent to prison, uncharged, the defendants were transferred from prison to house arrest. The Club (and others) protested again. Now the word is that a trial will take place, and the journalists will be defended by legal counsel. That's an improvement over earlier prospect.

Also, we protested the closing of the nation's newspapers in Panama, prior to the imposition of in-house censorship; we also tried to help a foreign language broadcaster in the U.S.

Last October, while Unesco was meeting in Paris, we denounced the Soviet Union's proposal to Unesco that a "new world information and communications order" be established and that curbs on press freedom be instituted. The same month, we were critical of the U.S. Government's denial of press access to the invasion of Grenada.

In this period of social and political unrest, the press is the particular target of governments unwilling to face criticism or to have their people learn what journalists report is happening. Trying to help the victims of the resulting free press violations is the challenge and charter of the OPC FOP Committee.

The "small" censorship war

by David Shaw
Covers Press for
Los Angeles Times

President Reagan issues Directive 84, requiring 128,000 government employees to submit for pre-publication review everything they write or say publicly for the rest of their lives. American armed forces invading Grenada refuse to permit the press to accompany them. Self-appointed guardians of the nation's moral fiber demand the removal from school libraries of more

than 600 "obscene" books—including *To Kill A Mockingbird*, *The Scarlet Letter* and *Mark Twain*.

These recent events are the most important—and the most frightening—manifestations of the kinds of censorship that right-thinking Americans have been struggling against since the founding of our country. But there is a small censorship battle going on these days, too. This battle doesn't involve national security or military combat or great literature; it involves what are commonly known as "dirty" words.

HOW MUCH IS TOO MUCH TO DRINK IF YOU'RE DRIVING?

USING THIS CHART MAY HELP YOU KNOW YOUR LIMIT.

First, you should understand that drinking any amount of alcohol can impair your ability to drive.

The generally accepted way to measure intoxication is by your Blood Alcohol Concentration (BAC). In most areas, the legal definition of intoxication is .10 percent BAC and above. However, long before you reach .10 BAC, your judgment and motor skills deteriorate rapidly. In fact, some states include the definition of impaired driving ability, which usually begins at .05 percent.

Important factors to keep in mind are how much you've drunk in a given period of time, how much you weigh and whether you've been eating. Your age, individual metabolism and experience with drinking are also factors. However, it simply is not true that beer or wine is less likely to make you drunk than so-called "hard" drinks. A 6-ounce glass of wine, a 12-ounce can of beer or 1½ ounces of 86-proof whiskey have about the same amount of alcohol and will have about the same effect on you.

How to estimate your Blood Alcohol Concentration. Although the effects of alcohol vary a great deal, the average effects are shown in the accompanying chart prepared by the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration. Find your weight in the left-hand column and then refer to the number of drinks you have had or intend to have over a two-hour period. For example, if you weigh 160 pounds and have had four beers over the first two hours you're drinking, your Blood Alcohol Concentration would be dangerously beyond .05 percent, and your driving ability would be seriously impaired—a dangerous driving situation. Six beers in the same period would give you a BAC of over .10 percent—the level generally accepted as proof of intoxication.

It is easier to get drunk than it is to get sober. The effects of drinking do taper off as the alcohol passes through your body, but the drop is slow. In the example above, the person who had six beers would still have significant traces of alcohol in his blood six hours later.

have any doubts, don't drive.

Even if you're not drinking, other drivers may be. Your best protection is still the seat belts in your car. Accidents do happen, and wearing lap and shoulder belts doubles your chances of coming through one alive.

DRINKS (TWO-HOUR PERIOD)

Weight	1½ ozs. 86° Liquor or 12 ozs. Beer											
100	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
120	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
140	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
160	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
180	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
200	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
220	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
240	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12

**BE CAREFUL DRIVING
BAC TO .05%**

**DRIVING IMPAIRED
.05-.09%**

**DO NOT DRIVE
.10% & UP**

Source: NHTSA

The chart shows average responses. Younger people generally become impaired sooner, while older people have more vision problems at night. Tests show a wide range of responses even for people of the same age and weight. For some people, one drink may be too many.

Having a full stomach will postpone somewhat the effects of alcohol, but it will not keep you from becoming drunk.

Black coffee, cold showers, or walking around outdoors will do nothing to make you sober. Of course, someone who claims, "I'll be okay as soon as I get behind the wheel," may be making a fatal misjudgment.

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TEXACO

I want to speak on behalf of "dirty" words. And against censorship—in any form.

I readily admit that printing news of the Grenada invasion is infinitely more important to our democratic process than printing the word "shit." But virtually all censorship springs from the same impulse—the sense that "we" know what's good for "you;" "we" know what "you" should (and shouldn't) know, read, see, hear. Except in the rarest of instances—true national security, a clear and present danger—I think all such censorship should be resisted, whether imposed by editors or presidents.

I know the counter-argument in the case of obscenity: Such words don't belong in a family newspaper, where they are bound to ruin the morals of the young children who see them.

Bullshit.

Most young people these days know all the "dirty" words long before they begin reading newspapers—if they read newspapers at all. More important, my files are full of stories that are incomplete and/or misleading because certain "dirty" words have been left out.

Just last summer, for example, there was much controversy over whether temperamental Billy Martin, the manager of the New York Yankees, told a woman researcher for the New York Times to "kiss my dago ass" or to "suck my dick." The controversy would have been funny if two of the principles—Martin and Yankee owner George Steinbrenner—were not such dreadful people. But dreadful or not—silly or not—the controversy grew, and the prevailing opinion among Yankee-watchers was that if Martin had indeed said "suck my dick," he would probably be fired; if he were guilty only of saying "kiss my dago ass," his job would probably be safe. None of the New York press (except the *Village Voice*) could report this, though—not as news, not as burlesque and not as social commentary—because none could use the exact language involved.

What kind of reporting is that?

Four years ago, Barry Commoner used the word "bullshit" in radio commercials promoting his presidential candidacy. The New York Times deemed the novel approach worthy of an 18-paragraph story. But the story didn't include the one word that was crucial to the commercial and the story. In The New York Times, "bullshit" became "a barnyard epithet."

What kind of reporting is that?

These are by no means isolated examples. Editors who howl with First



Billy Martin, "in action."

Amendment indignation whenever the government withholds information from their reporters routinely withhold information from their readers for fear of offending their sensibilities with "dirty" words.

Much of the press reported Jimmy Carter's 1976 "lust-in-my-heart" Playboy interview but didn't quote the most controversial words he used—"screw" and "shack up." Nor did any major papers quote Secretary of Agriculture Earl Butz verbatim a few years ago when he said Republicans couldn't attract black voters because "coloreds only want three things...First, a tight pussy; second, loose shoes; and third, a warm place to shit."

Butz resigned but no major daily told its readers just what he'd said that triggered his resignation.

What kind of reporting is that?

I am not suggesting that newspapers should become subway walls, filled with the foul graffiti of everyday urban life. But there are stories that require the use of "dirty" words—sometimes because those words are direct quotes, central to the story, and sometimes because those words are just the best possible way to express a particular thought in a specific context.

When such occasions arise, the words should be used. No circumlocutions. No clever euphemisms. No blank spaces.

I once saw an editorial in the Los Angeles Herald Examiner that referred to "those bast--ds." Did leaving out those two letters somehow purge the word of its power to offend? Did the editors really think they were safeguarding the sensibilities—and the virtue—of their readers by so juvenile an act?

Fuck no!

Frank Sinatra vs. Kitty Kelley

A heated and widely publicized censorship dispute was touched off in September, 1983, when Frank Sinatra filed a suit against Kitty Kelley, author and reporter, who had begun interviewing persons for a book on him. Because the suit is seen by many as a serious challenge to freedom of expression by writers, Dateline presents Mr. Sinatra's position and that of opponents.

Following are excerpts from the suit by Frank Sinatra against Kitty Kelley, seeking \$2 million in damages:

"During his more than four decades of performing before the public as an entertainer, Sinatra has obtained pre-eminence as one of the best-known and successful entertainers alive today. As a result, there is a great deal of interest by the public worldwide in the events, both public and private, of Sinatra's life. However, Sinatra has chosen to keep private many of the private events of his life and has not yet cooperated in any biography of his life. Because of this, many of his friends and associates, and others, who are familiar with his private life have respected this and not publicly spoken out or disclosed such events known to them for publication. In truth and in fact a mystique of sorts has grown up over the years and decades as the 'real

truth' or the 'inside story' about numerous events and personalities connected with Sinatra's private life. Sinatra has, on numerous occasions, informed his friends and publicly stated that at such time as he decides is appropriate, he will 'set the record straight' as to many such aspects of his life. Because of Sinatra's keeping such events private over the years and because of the great public interest therein, the commercial value of an authorized biography or of Sinatra's autobiography has been greatly enhanced.

"Defendant Kitty Kelley is an individual who is engaged in the business and profession of writing books about famous and well-known individuals. In her books, defendant focuses primarily on those events of the subject person's life which are sensational, scandalous and deprecating....

"Defendant has, in the few months immediately prior to the filing of this Complaint, in the County of Los Angeles, California, and elsewhere, interviewed, and attempted to interview, numerous individuals who are friends, acquaintances or associates of Sinatra who have or might have 'inside' knowledge of the private aspects of events of Sinatra's life. In securing, or attempting to secure, interviews with said individu-

als, defendants has, in Los Angeles County and elsewhere, made representations and statements, orally and in writing, to said interviewees which are false and misleading, in an attempt to obtain such interviews. Said false and misleading statements consist, inter alia, of assertions, insinuations and press releases that defendant is, in fact, conducting her work and preparing a biography with the blessings of Sinatra and that he and his attorneys and other representatives are aware of her project and either approve or do not object to the interviewee disclosing the 'inside' facts to her....

"In each such case, said proposed interviewee would not have given an interview to defendant concerning private facts or events of Sinatra's life if such interviewee had been aware and had not been misled by defendant that she was not, in fact, an authorized biographer of Sinatra....

"In furtherance of her plan and scheme, defendant has made, and continues to make, representations to prospective interviewees and through repeated press releases, that she intends to portray Sinatra in her book in a favorable light, when, in truth and in fact, plaintiffs are informed and believe that she intends to focus upon sensational, controversial and deprecating events, real or imagined, of Sinatra's life....

"Said scheme which defendant has evolved further violates, on its face, the fundamental rules of honesty and fair dealing and constitutes an unfair competition and unlawful business practice. Plaintiffs have been damaged to an amount in excess of \$10,000,000... and an award of punitive damages in the sum of \$2,000,000 is justified."

"Wherefore, plaintiffs pray judgment as follows:

"On the Third Cause of Action for a preliminary and permanent injunction restraining defendant, her agents, servant employees, and other persons in action concert or participation with her from making false or misleading statements or otherwise causing any person to believe she is the authorized biographer of Frank Sinatra or that Frank Sinatra approves of, does not object to, or encourages participation in the proposed work of defendant about him or about him or about some aspects of his life, without the express written consent of plaintiffs."

WRITERS DEFEND KITTY KELLEY

By: American Society of Journalists and

Authors—Professional Rights Committee
Executive Board of the National Writer's Union
National Writer's Union—Washington Local
National Writer's Union—New York Local
Reporters Committee for Freedom of the Press
Washington Independent Writers

Frank Sinatra's suit seeking \$2 million in damages from an author, before a word has been written, is an assault upon that author's—and all writers'—constitutionally protected freedom of expression and should be dismissed on its face.

Sinatra's target is Kitty Kelley, author of two best-selling biographies, *Jackie Oh!* and *Elizabeth Taylor—The Last Star*. Ms. Kelley, formerly with the *Washington Post*, is now a contributing editor at *The Washingtonian*. According to the *Los Angeles Times*, her book on Elizabeth Taylor was a "meticulously researched account" of the star's life.

The apparent goal behind Sinatra's filing of this suit is to scare Ms. Kelley away from her investigation and, ultimately, to force her to scrap the book. Abuses of the judicial system, such as this, pose a serious threat to all writers.

Sinatra's suit is a chilling example of how a powerful public figure using money and influence can orchestrate what the public shall know about him. Sinatra, who has thrived in the public limelight for decades has now concluded that it is within his exclusive power to let the public know what he wants it to know about his life. As declared in his complaint: "...at such time as he decides is appropriate, he will 'set the record straight' as to many aspects of his life."

This suit has already disrupted Ms. Kelley's life and work. By forcing Ms. Kelley to interrupt her reporting to deal with the suit, Sinatra has begun to achieve his goal of bringing the book to a halt—and this is taking place without any official sanction from the court.

At the same time, Sinatra's squadron of lawyers will undoubtedly seek to insulate him from the disruption that generally results from a lawsuit of this magnitude. Sinatra's virtually unlimited resources will enable him to drag this suit out in the courts as long as it serves his purpose of discouraging commentary on his life.

In his written complaint, Sinatra attempts to convert his "inside story" into private property which may be "exploited" (his words) only by those

licensed by him to do so. Yet, the unauthorized or "unblessed" biography is the essence of free and open critical commentary on public figures' lives and work. If the court agrees with Sinatra's novel interpretation of the law, public figures could seek to protect their "inside stories" by putting them off limits to any writer not of their choosing.

- Henry Kissinger could have silenced Seymour Hersch.
- The Kennedy family could have silenced William Manchester.
- The "Brethren" on the Supreme Court could have quashed Armstrong and Woodward.
- And the late Mayor Richard Daly could have paralyzed Mike Royko.

This is not an issue of gossip about celebrities. Nor is this a fight over the truth or falsity of a publication—Ms. Kelley has yet to publish a word. Rather, the suit seeks to silence this writer long before she speaks for fear that her message will be uncomplimentary and will interfere with this celebrity's goal of reaping the exclusive profits from "setting the record straight"—as he sees that record.

Our coalition, representing several thousand writers from throughout the country, deplores Sinatra's action and declares our complete support for Ms. Kelley.

Spare that censor

by George Weller
Foreign Correspondent

Spare that censor. You can never love him. But you can forgive him. Better still—but don't spread this around; it's off the record—you can learn from him.

Your editor, thousands of miles away, cannot tell you where to find your story. He doesn't know what he needs. A censor, however, knows exactly what he doesn't want you to write. Let him guide you.

Joe Jacobs was ambassador to Czechoslovakia. They never bugged his office. His rule: "I found out what they wanted. Then I did the opposite."

Wherever the censor's pencil falls on your copy, he is hurting you terribly. But he is also teaching you. Learn from the censor.

Freud said it well; "Wherever there is a repression, there is a neurosis." Follow that twinge. Find where it starts.

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GW

Every forbidden fact, however odious, however "prejudiced," however inflammatory, has a right to life somewhere. Find the unwelcome fact and give it a home.

A few weeks ago the N.Y. Times magazine ran a long, careful takeout on the Third World's aversion to the U.S., as expressed at the United Nations. The official structure emerged plausibly, but a well-meaning self-censorship omitted two huge facts:

- That the one-state-one-vote systems punishes the weak U.S. But the Soviet Union alone has three votes: Russia, the Ukraine and White Russia. The fact dates from the years of Alger Hiss at the U.N., but few Americans know it: Old, significant, but self-suppressed.
- That the "Third World" is not a rabble of handout hounds criticizing Jerusalem's tel-avivized architecture, but a fully grown, carefully operating majority machine, calling itself by its cradle name of "The Group of 77." Actually it is a masonry of at least 126 nations, and Perez de Cuellar was an official. In Rome's FAO, where nobody gives them away, 77 lives on UN property and an official subsidy.

These are the abiding abuses that lie in the cellars of the sleepy stories you read.

Censors can disappear, and then reappear in strange forms. During the

Stalin period, Moscow censorship was experimentally lifted to find out whether the foreign press corps was disciplined to self-censorship. Still, a story would pop up that couldn't be denied life: It would be filed, but never arrive. Were the censors back? Not at all. "It's those emotional boys over at the telegraph office. They got so angry they threw away your story. Just expressing themselves. We're very free, really."

But the Soviets, during the Kennedy period, did teach the Moscow press corps how to behave. Some KGB operatives entrapped an American girl reporter with a sob story about repression of modern art, took her to a bar, gave her a mickey finn, then while she was in a state of collapse photographed her in an alcoholic rescue pose with her clothes disarrayed. The resulting story was played big all over Russia and from Berlin East.

Any objection by the American veteran Moscow hand who headed her agency? On the contrary, her boss called together all the British and American reporters and begged them to pledge "not to provoke Khruschev" by putting out her counter-story. And the American ostriches bowed their heads like red flamingoes. And when I disolutely passed the story to my Chicago editor the agency begged him to kill it: And he did.

The censor I loved least, but admired

most for his wire-pulling skill, was our own Mac Arthur. He cowed the entire American press into suppressing the fact that his battle of malarial-ridden New Guinea was directed from the hotel apartment in Brisbane, where he lived with his wife and son. Bataan it wasn't.

After the peace signing on the *Missouri*, MacArthur forbade anyone to visit the atom-bombed cities. Nor did he do the obvious thing in sending them medical relief. I evaded MacArthur, slipped into Nagasaki, and started visiting the hospitals. To test his ideas of peacetime freedom, I sent him personally 25,000 words of medical description of the ray's effect on human viscera. The general's reaction was to suppress every word.

Don't mourn censorship as if it were dead. It smothers the Gulf war. Censorship is thriving on the West Bank and Gaza. Spend \$10 on a 167-page paperback by the Israeli scholar Meron Benvenisti, published by the Fund for Free Expression. It's called "Israeli Censorship of Arab Publications." Benvenisti says that in 1982, out of 1077 stories sent to the military censors, 369 were killed, 214 cut.

The scholar charges the occupying power "uses his absolute power against a defenseless and frail group of dedicated journalists." But he thinks "the censor's fight is a losing battle." The evidence has not emerged.

73 victims of press persecution in 24 countries

It is virtually impossible to compile a list of press people who are detained, held without trial, facing trial, banned or similarly prevented from doing their jobs.

Too often, governments which arrest, detain, punish or torture reporters, editors, broadcasters do not announce acts of this kind.

Following is a partial list of current victims, compiled in March, 1984, to indicate the scope of the problem, and the nature of the journalists' alleged "crimes." Sources are: The Committee To Protect Journalists, Amnesty International and the International Press Institute.

We hope that many of the listings will be out-of-date by the time this is printed and that many of the prisoners will have been released.

Here is the partial list of journalist victims around the world:

Bangladesh

Sunil Kanti De, reporter, *Sangbad*, Bengali daily, detained since June, 1981, because of his investigating and reporting on government land appropriation activity in politically troubled Chittagong area.

Golam Majed, journalist, serving three-year sentence for articles critical of the martial-law government.

Barbados

Rickey Singh, editor, *Caribbean Contact*, a Guyanan national, negotiated his exit from Barbados after his work permit was revoked for articles criticizing the invasion of Grenada by U.S. and Caribbean forces.

Brazil

Juvencio Mazzarollo, former editor,

*Journal Nossa Temp*o, a weekly published in Foz do Iguacu; imprisoned for articles critical of government, reports on displacement of peasants living near large Itaipu Hydroelectric Project; his sentence was increased from 2 to 4 years.

Cuba

Fernando Rivas Porta, an editor of the magazine *Bohemia*, and *Luis Rodriguez*, reporter for newspaper *El Pais*, imprisoned for more than 20 years.

Czechoslovakia

Jiri Grunwald, former editor of underground magazine *Forum*, serving a 4-year term in Minkovice Prison. He was beaten and tortured, according to reports, for complaining about harassment in prison.

Frantisek Starek, worked for underground magazine *Vonko*, arrested for

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"causing a public disturbance." Sentenced June, 1982 to 2½ years imprisonment and 2 years house arrest.

Ethiopia

Martha Kumsa, *Girma Deffa*, *Boshera Tolessa* worked for an Aromo-language journal, *Barissa*. Detained February 1980, now held at the Alem Bedayer prison in Addis Ababa.

Kenya

Otieno Mak'onyango, assistant editor, *The Sunday Standard* of Nairobi, has been detained since August, 1982, without charges.

Liberia

Willis Knuckles, a reporter for the independent *Daily Observer* and stringer for BBC, was arrested February 8 or 9, 1984, apparently for filing a story which authorities found offensive.

Libya

Ali Muhammad Hadidane Rheibi, journalist for *Usbu' Thaqafi*, Idris Muhammad Ibn Tayeb, journalist and editor; Ahmed Muhammed El Fitouri, journalist; Mostafa El Hashmi Ba'Yu, writer—sentenced to life imprisonment in June, 1980, after a meeting in Benghazi held to commemorate the death of the Libyan poet, Ali Ragi'iy.

Pakistan

Hameed Asghar Minas, Rawalpindi book publisher, is being held in leg fetters for uncertain offenses.

Suhail Sanghi, a journalist with *Daily Sind News*, arrested in 1980; charges relate to publication, dissemination of materials the government found offensive.

China

Li Guangyi editor, *China Finance and Trade News*, sentenced to 5 years imprisonment, March 1982, on charges of revealing state secrets to foreign reporters.

Zhu Jianbin arrested April, 1981, apparently for efforts to form the National Association of Democratic Journals. He was never publicly charged or tried.

Wang Xizhe, He Oiu, both editors of "unofficial publications," tried for "counter-revolutionary crimes." In May, 1982, Wang was sentenced to 16 years imprisonment, He to 10 years.

Philippines

Rommel Corro, editor, *Philippines Times*, arrested October, 1983 for running stories alleging government involvement in assassination of Senator Aquino.

Poland

Zbigniew Romaszewski, a leader in the underground Radio Solidarity who was sentenced in February, 1983 to 4½ years

imprisonment.

South Korea

Cho Sung-Yong, Kunsan radio broadcasting official, sentenced to 1-2 years for violating security law.

South Africa

Allister Sparks; former editor, *Rand Daily Mail*, now correspondent for *Washington Post* and *London Observer*, charged with violating internal security act for quoting banned wife of imprisoned African National Congress leader, and reporting claims that South Africa's security police operate an assassination squad.

Johnny Issel, coordinator of *Grassroots*, a community newspaper, and Mathatha Tsedu, reporter, *Post* (Transvaal) newspaper, banned.

Soviet Union

Vyacheslav Chernovol, Ukrainian radio and newspaper journalist arrested April, 1980, and charged with "attempted rape." Sentenced June, 1980 to 5 years hard labor, 4 years internal exile.

Valery Timofeyevich Repin, journalist with *Leningrad Worker*, sentenced August, 1980 to 2 years in jail, 3 in internal exile.

Zoya A. Krakhmalnikova, writer and editor of an underground journal of Christian thought who was arrested in August, 1982 and sentenced in April, 1983 to one year corrective labor and five years internal exile.

Gintautas Iesamantas, author of *Samizdat* articles, arrested March, 1980, sentenced to 6 years imprisonment and 5 years internal exile.

Anatoly Marchenko, author of *My Testimony* and human rights activist, now serving a 15-year sentence for his writing.

Vitaly Schevchenko, arrested April, 1980, charged with circulating *Samizdat* articles; sentenced to 7 years imprisonment, 6 years internal exile.

Spain

Xavier Vinader, investigative journalist, weekly *Interview*, now in Carabanchel Prison, Madrid; offense: two articles describing activities of right-wing groups.

Sudan

Bona Malwal Madut, a journalist and political figure, arrested May, 1983 for criticizing the government.

Syria

Marwan Hamawi, director of Syrian news agency SANA, arrested April, 1975 on suspicion of collaborating with Iraqi wing of Ba'ath party. He has not been charged or tried.

Taiwan

Li Ching-sun, former editor, *Central Daily News*, for his articles critical of

government corruption, inefficiency.

Li ching-jung, editor of *Demo Voice*, a Tangwai publication, charged in connection with writing articles advocating peaceful reunification with the mainland. Sentenced in May, 1980 to 5 years imprisonment.

Shih Ming-teh, Yao Chia-wen, Huan Hsin-chieh, Lu Hsien-lien, Chang Chun-hung, Lin Yi-hsiung, Chen Chu, Lin Hung-hsuan, all executive staff members of *Formosa* magazine, arrested after Kaohsiung human rights day rally in December, 1979; charged with sedition, plotting to violently overthrow the government. In April, 1980 sentenced to 12 years to life.

Chang Fu-chung, Chen Chung-hsin, Chi Wang-sheng, Chiu Chiu-chen, Wang To, Wei Ting Choa, Yang Ching Chu, Yu Ah-hsing, other *Formosa* staff members, given sentences ranging from 4 to 6 years.

Huang Hua, former deputy managing editor, *Taiwan Political Review*, given third prison sentence for criticism of the government, "wild talk" in a restaurant.

Turkey

Irfan Asik, reporter for *Partizan*, serving 9-year sentence.

Dr. Yalcin Kucuk, economist and former economics editor of *Cumhuriyet*, is serving an 8-year sentence for writing a book on Turkey's economic problems.

Uruguay

Jaime Daniel Sljanati Benedutto, Helvecio Bonelia Arias, Jose Rubin Bottaro Giordano, Hiber Conteris, Ester Gerber, Lazaro Carlos Maman Gane, Hermino Osorio, Francisco Laurenzo Pons, Miguel Carvajales, Sigifrido Guridi Rodriguez, Margarita Micheline and Jose Posamay—all imprisoned.

Vietnam

Nguyenn Khank Giu, Tran Da Tu, former members of South Vietnam Union of Journalists who are being held in "re-education" camps.

Yugoslavia

Ranka Cicak, correspondent for Zagreb daily, 10-month prison sentence; wrote exposés on financial improprieties of hog farming cooperative near Belgrade.

Additional details about these cases are available from:

Committee to Protect Journalists, 36 W. 44 St., New York, NY 10036

Amnesty International of the U.S.A., 304 W. 58 St., New York, NY 10019

International Press Institute, Dieke House, 1 Millet St., London WCIE 7JA England

Also, write to the U.S. embassies of the countries concerned for information and to protest.

The Overseas Press Club

45 Years

In April, 1939, when a group of correspondents founded the Overseas Press Club of America the assumption was that it would be mainly as a congenial sanctuary where talented journalists could enjoy one another's company over a drink or two. But during the wars and other national and international upheavals that have sent news gatherers skittering around the planet, the Overseas Press Club, like the work of its members, has changed considerably.

The club, in mid-Manhattan, is still a meeting place for the men and women who seek respite from tension and controversy in relaxed reunions with colleagues. Here they swap memories, initiate searches for friends who are scattered, discuss—and argue about—the breaking stories of the world.

But the OPC has grown far beyond conviviality and nostalgia. Consequently, new members are needed to meet its larger and more serious responsibilities.

The OPC has become an important forum for the expression of ideas by leading journalists, statesmen and politicians.

It is a prime showcase for best-selling authors eager to talk of their works to an audience that includes important opinion-shapers in newspapers, wire services,

magazines, television and radio.

The prestige of the OPC has made its Annual Awards in the print and electronic media and in book publishing among the most coveted in the nation.

The membership and activities of the OPC reflect the extent to which journalism has become the larger world called communication. Men and women who once limited their endeavors to newspapers, wire services and magazines have moved into television, government, publicity and advertising.

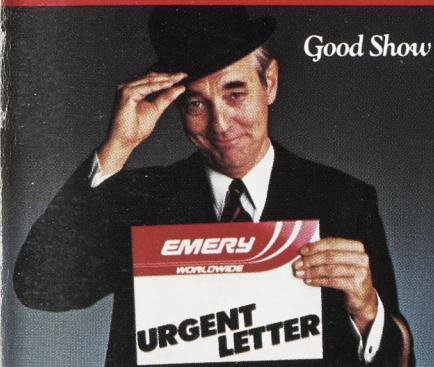
When they meet in the club's lounge, at its luncheons and dinners; gather to hear speeches or learn the winners of awards; their talk has the scope of the new world of the press created by the revolutionary technologies of electronics and computers. The club is a crossroads of the realm of communication.

Because of the enormous changes in journalism in the 45 years since it was formed, the OPC has become, for those in the media, an international symbol of the freedom of the press, speech and ideas. With its ties to press organizations throughout the world, the OPC has continued to transcend national boundaries and has kept up the struggle in behalf of journalists who have been persecuted and threatened for daring to speak the truth.



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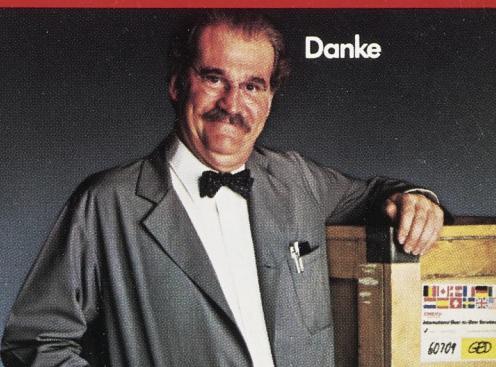
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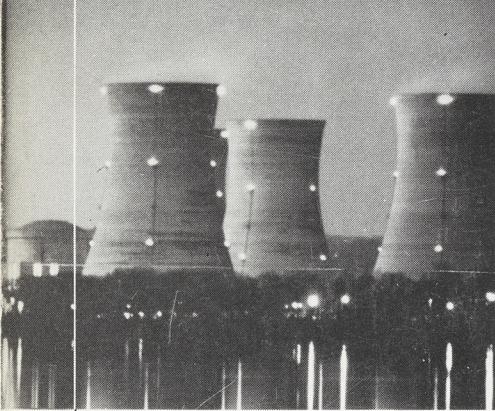
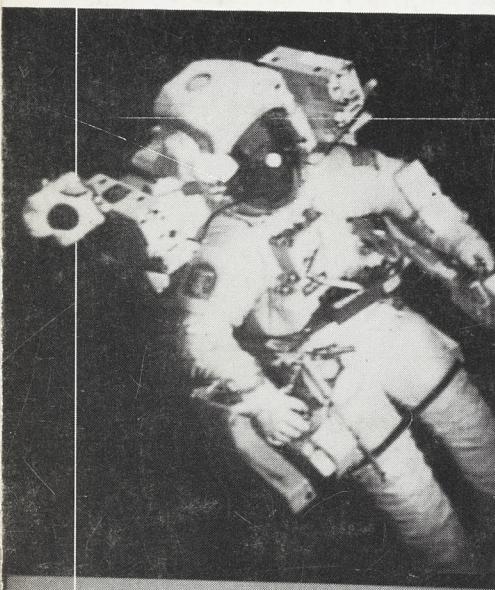
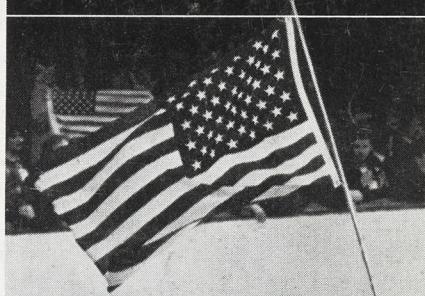
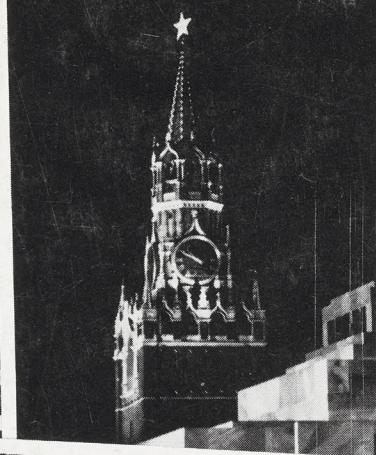
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